A BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY READER

B. A. LEES

BLACK'S
HISTORICAL SERIES

119
176
E H
B. 61

Müller Puten Bros.
GENERAL MERCHANTS, COMMISSION
AGENTS, BOOK SELLERS, STATIONERS &
AGENTS FOR LETTER STAMP MAKERS.
BRIGADE ROAD, BANGALORE.

Black's School History

A BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY READER

(SELECTED LIVES FROM THE 'HISTORY IN BIOGRAPHY' SERIES)

For Use in Primary Schools

ARRANGED BY

BEATRICE A. LEES

RESIDENT HISTORY TUTOR, SOMERVILLE COLLEGE, OXFORD

No.....

Date.....

WITH FIFTY-SIX ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK

1905

1622
G1 A
V5,104
N05

CONTENTS

	PAGE
KING ALFRED THE GREAT	1
SAINT DUNSTAN, THE HOLY ARCHBISHOP	15
SAINT ANSELM, THE LAST OF THE FATHERS	26
HENRY II., PLANTAGENET	39
SIMON DE MONTFORT, THE PROTECTOR OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE	59
EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE	73
JOHN WYCLIF, THE MORNING STAR OF THE REFORMATION	92
HENRY V., THE VICTORIOUS KING	102
WARWICK, THE KING-MAKER	119
SIR THOMAS MORE, THE OXFORD REFORMER	134
EDWARD SEYMOUR, THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET	145
WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY, THE CAUTIOUS STATESMAN	158
SIR WALTER RALEGH, THE SCHOLAR, COURTIER, AND ADVENTURER	172
CHARLES I., 'THE KING BY DIVINE RIGHT'	183
OLIVER CROMWELL, THE INDEPENDENT	202
CHARLES II., THE RESTORED KING	219
JAMES II., THE PAPIST KING	233
HENRY ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE, THE TORY STATESMAN	244
ROBERT WALPOLE, EARL OF ORFORD, THE WHIG STATESMAN	259
JOHN WESLEY, THE 'METHODIST'	272
THE TWO PITTS: WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM, AND WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER	281
SUMMARY	304

No.....
Date.....

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Alfred the Great *Frontispiece*	
The Alfred Jewel (Obverse)	6
The Alfred Jewel (Reverse)	7
Facsimile of Part of King Alfred's 'Orosius'	11
St. Dunstan at the Feet of Christ	19
Seal of Saint Anselm	33
Map of England and France at the Accession of Henry II.	38
Keep of Rochester Castle	42
Effigy of Henry II.	54
The Barbican of Lewes Castle	67
Tomb of the Black Prince	72
Edward III.	73
Knights tilting	75
Archer	76
Crossbow	80
Storming a Castle	86
Ostrich-feather Badge of the Black Prince	91
John Wyclif	97
Page from Pleshy Bible	100
Henry V. of Monmouth	102
Tower on Wheels	108
The Siege of Rouen	113
Sandal Castle, near Wakefield	118
Bear and Ragged Staff	120
A Sea-fight	122
Battle of Barnet	133
Sir Thomas More	137
Hertford, the Protector Somerset	146
Queen Elizabeth	160
William Cecil, first Baron Burghley	162
Hatfield House, belonging to the Cecil Family	167
Arms of Elizabeth	170
Sir Walter Ralegh	174
Arms of Sir W. Ralegh	182
Charles I.	184
Henrietta Maria	186
'The English and Scotts Armies lovingly embrace each other'	188
Prince Rupert	192
Map of England illustrating the Civil War	194
Whitehall	199
Oliver Cromwell	203
Horseman	205
Musketeer	209
Pikeman	210
Cannon	212
Ship of the Period	214
Charles II.	220
A Countrywoman of the Period	228
A Merchant's Wife of London	229
English Lady of the Period	230
The Five Children of Charles I.	234
Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke	245
Sir Robert Walpole	258
John Wesley	273
William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham	282
The Right Hon. William Pitt	291

ALFRED THE GREAT.

Statue by Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., at Winchester.

T. B. A. N. M'S EDUCATIONAL CHARITIES.
No.....
Date.....
BANGALORE.

A BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY READER

KING ALFRED THE GREAT.

(848—900.)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, those remote islands in the Northern Ocean whose written history begins when the greatness of Greece had already passed away, and the Roman Empire was just rising to the height of its power, have an unwritten history, stamped deep upon the face of the land for those who have eyes to see. The quarryman brings to light the rude flint weapons of the men of the 'Old Stone Age,' the primæval inhabitants of Britain, who shared the struggle for existence with the lion and the mammoth. The shepherd grazes his flocks beside the green 'barrows,' or mound-tombs, of the men of the 'New Stone Age,' who fashioned implements of polished stone, and their successors of the 'Bronze Age,' who used weapons and vessels made from a mixture of tin and copper. These were the men who raised the mighty circle of Stonehenge, and the stone monuments of Cornwall and Ireland. The earthworks which they and the invaders from Gaul who followed in their wake formed for defence and shelter crown the English hills and uplands. The later Roman conquerors have left their

traces in ruined wall and mossy road and square, grass-grown camp. Deep below the surface of the ground, for the plough to turn up, or the modern builder to uncover, lie the tessellated pavements of Roman villas, the standards and tombstones of Roman troops, the coins and pottery of Roman social life.

When, in the middle of the fifth century A.D., the sea-kings of the far North—Jutes, Saxons, and Angles—came over the 'broad billows' to subdue and colonize the fertile British province, deserted by its Roman defenders, the people whom they conquered and among whom they settled were already mixed in race, in language, and in customs. Over the old 'Iberian' inhabitants had swept a wave of 'Gaelic' population, whose speech still lingers in the Highlands of Scotland, in Ireland, and in the Isle of Man. Over them, again, had swept the 'Brythonic' Celts, the 'Ancient Britons' whom Julius Cæsar saw and described, the ancestors of the modern Welsh. They knew the use of iron, practised agriculture, and dwelt in tribal communities under the rule of kings. They have left their records in armour and personal ornaments, coins and earth-works, legends and traditions. Their speech persists in Wales, and has not long perished from Cornwall. To them the conquering armies of Rome brought the knowledge of imperial government and law, of town-life and municipal organization, of military discipline, and, finally, of the Christian religion. Then on Romanized Britain fell the un-Romanized, heathen Germanic tribes. The Jutes settled in the South-east of Britain, the Angles won the East and North, the Saxons occupied the fertile South, and the Britons were pushed back into the mountainous West.

Then followed a period of strife amongst the con-

querors themselves, in the course of which their numerous little tribal settlements were gradually gathered into larger and larger groups, until by the end of the sixth century three great kingdoms emerged: Northumbria, north of Humber; Mercia, between Humber and Thames; and Wessex, south of Thames. For two centuries more these three great powers carried on their struggle, using the smaller kingdoms, which still preserved a semi-independence, as pawns in the game, until Egbert, King of the West-Saxons, succeeded in uniting the whole land from the Channel to the Forth, from the German Ocean to the Irish Sea, under his supremacy, as 'King of the English' (*rex Anglorum*). But his ill-consolidated dominions fell apart on his death in 839, and his son Ethelwulf was king only of 'the West-Saxons and the men of Kent,' with Surrey, Sussex, and Essex. It was near the northern boundary of Ethelwulf's kingdom that his fourth son, Alfred, was born in 848, under the shadow of the Berkshire Downs, where now his statue looks down upon the market-place of the little town of Wantage.

The second half of the ninth century, which covered Alfred's life, was a critical period in the development of the English nation. Even within Wessex, Kent retained some measure of independence. The under-kingdom of the East-Anglians (*Norfolk and Suffolk*) was restless under its Mercian overlord, and beyond the Humber the wild Northumbrian kingdom was bordered by the still wilder lands of Picts and Scots, while in the West the remnants of the ancient British race still held the kingdoms of Strathclyde and of the North Welsh (*Wales*). The West-Saxon ruler was vaguely recognised as overlord, or chief king, among these petty princes, but his supremacy was merely nominal, and Ethelwulf

was fully occupied in defending his own territory. For already to the dangers of internal dissension were added those of external invasion. Already the coast of Kent was beset by the long dark boats of Danes and Northmen, the Wickings, the fierce heathen sea-rovers who swarmed forth from the Scandinavian lands beyond the North Sea to plunder and settle in the fruitful South. One of Alfred's first faint, dreamlike recollections must have been of the sacking and burning of London and Canterbury, and of the great fight in which his father and elder brother defeated the hosts of the invaders at Ockley, in Surrey, where men speak of the slaughter of the Danes to this day. Deliverance from these pirate hordes, and the union under one strong ruler of the rival English kingdoms, were the two pressing needs of the time. It is because Alfred's life was devoted to securing peace and unity for his country that he is still honoured as one of the true makers of England.

The stories that have come down to us of the great king's early years show him as a bright, pretty, active boy, loving field-sports, yet full of desire for knowledge, delighting in the old songs and ballads of the West-Saxons, and winning an illuminated manuscript book of Saxon poems which his mother had promised to the child who could first read it aloud to her. There was much in his childhood to rouse him to thoughtful self-reliance, and to train him for his future life. While still very young he visited Rome, and saw the Pope ruling Western Christendom from his Court in the great city, full of memories of the former masters of the world. Then, when he was ten years old, came his father's death, followed by the deaths of his two elder brothers, Ethelbald and Ethelbert, who reigned in quick succes-

sion. On the accession of his third brother, Ethelred, he was closely associated in the government of the kingdom as second to the king (*secundarius*), and the serious work of his life began.

The Danes had withdrawn for awhile from the South, and were harrying Northumbria and Eastern England, but the West-Saxons were only allowed a short breathing-space. The year 871 saw a Danish host encamped at Reading, in the valley of the Thames, and Ethelred and Alfred fighting at the head of their people for life and home and country. The Danes beat off the Saxons from their camp at Reading, only to be dislodged, a few days later, from a strong position on the crest of the Downs, in the famous battle of Ashdown. Asser, Alfred's biographer, tells how Alfred charged with his men up the hill 'like a wild boar,' while Ethelred, setting 'God's service before that of man,' refused to lead his troops to his brother's help till the Mass which he was hearing in his tent was finished. A solitary thorn-tree, round which the battle raged, long marked the place of the West-Saxon victory—a victory all the more vividly remembered because it was followed by defeat after defeat. In the midst of the struggle Ethelred died, and Alfred was called to the throne. Reluctantly enough he took up the burden of his new dignity, and before the year was out he found himself compelled to consent to an inglorious truce. The Danes retired for a brief season to their northern camp, but only to gather strength for renewed incursions. In 874 they fell upon Mercia, drove its king over the sea, and harried Northumbria. In 876 a force under the bold Wicking Guthrum attacked the West-Saxon kingdom from the South. Failing to drive the invaders from their camp at Wareham, in

Dorsetshire, Alfred bought peace, while the Northmen swore their most solemn oath, on the 'holy ring,' to leave the country. But they merely rode to Exeter, where they spent the winter, and Alfred had to blockade them by sea and land before they surrendered in 877, with many fresh promises—a prelude to fresh treachery.

T. Reveley, Wantage.

THE ALFRED JEWEL (OBVERSE).

Early in 878, in mid-winter, a Danish host stole into Wiltshire, and overran the land of the West-Saxons before an army could be gathered to meet them. 'They drove many of the folk oversea,' says the contemporary Winchester Chronicle, 'and of the rest, the more part they reduced, and they submitted, save

King Alfred. He, with a little band, withdrew to the woods and the fastnesses of the moors.'

This was the time when Alfred's fortunes seemed at the lowest ebb, yet his courage and hopefulness did not forsake him. With a few faithful followers he took refuge among the marshes and fens of Somersetshire, and raised a fort at Athelney, the 'Isle of Princes'

T. Reveley, Wantage.

THE ALFRED JEWEL (REVERSE).

(*Æthelingga eige*), between the rivers Tone and Parret, whence he and his 'little band' could make raids upon the enemy. It was near Athelney that the 'Alfred jewel' was found in the seventeenth century, with the words 'Alfred ordered me to be made' (*Ælfred mec heht gewyrcan*) wrought into its golden setting.

But the tide of fortune was turning. A body of Danes, under a leader called Ubba, who had made an inroad on the coast of Devonshire, were defeated by the men of Devon, with the loss of their magic banner, the 'Raven,' which Ubba's three sisters had woven in one morning with such strange skill that when the troops marched to victory the raven on the silken flag seemed to be flying with outstretched wings, while if defeat were in store, it hung limp and motionless.

Then, in the spring of the year, when Easter was past, Alfred came forth from his retreat, and there gathered to him all the men of Somersetshire and Wiltshire and Hampshire, and they welcomed him as one risen from the dead, and they fought against Guthrum and his host at Æthandun in Wiltshire, and drove them into their camp, and there besieged them for fourteen days, till they submitted, and gave hostages, and swore oaths that they would depart out of the kingdom. Guthrum, moreover, received Christian baptism at Aller, near Athelney, and Alfred was his godfather, and entertained him in his royal house at Wedmore, and honoured him with gifts.

After this, many of the Danes went oversea, but Guthrum-Athelstan settled in Eastern England, and left to Alfred the land south of Thames and the western half of Mercia. Bernicia, too, the part of Northumbria beyond the Tees, retained its English king, but all the rest of England was held by the Danes, and was known as the Danelaw, the country under Danish law. There were three kingdoms, or settlements, in the Danelaw: Danish Northumbria, from Tees to Humber; Danish Mercia, or the country of the Five Boroughs, from Humber to Wash; and Guthrum's kingdom, from Wash to Thames. Yet,

strong as the Danes still were, the agreement of 878 between Alfred and Guthrum, the Treaty of Chippenham or Wedmore, marks the turning-point in the fortunes of the West-Saxons. The first part of Alfred's work was now practically done, and he was free to turn to the task of restoring order and unity to his kingdom.

First, he provided for its military efficiency. The West-Saxons had no regular army, but every freeman was bound to serve in defence of his country for a certain number of days in each year. The infantry force thus gathered, called the 'fyrd,' because the soldiers 'fared' forth to battle, was ill-armed, slow in getting into action, and apt to melt away when the term of service was over, and the soldiers went home to till their fields and reap the harvest. It was peculiarly unfitted to cope with the Danes, who were well equipped, well disciplined, and very quick in movement. They would sail up a river, throw up an earthwork for protection, seize horses, plunder the countryside, and ride back into camp before the clumsy English host could be set in motion. Alfred remedied this by dividing the 'fyrd' into two, and calling only one division into the field at a time, thus making the force more manageable, and leaving men at home to cultivate the soil. He further organized a compact, well-armed body of mounted infantry from the 'thegns,'* or country gentry, men trained to arms, who would be always ready for service.

He strengthened the fortifications of Wessex, too, and set men to guard them, and he built 'long ships' to keep the coast against the Wickings. The good effects of these preparations were seen when in 884 a

* Pronounced *thanes*.

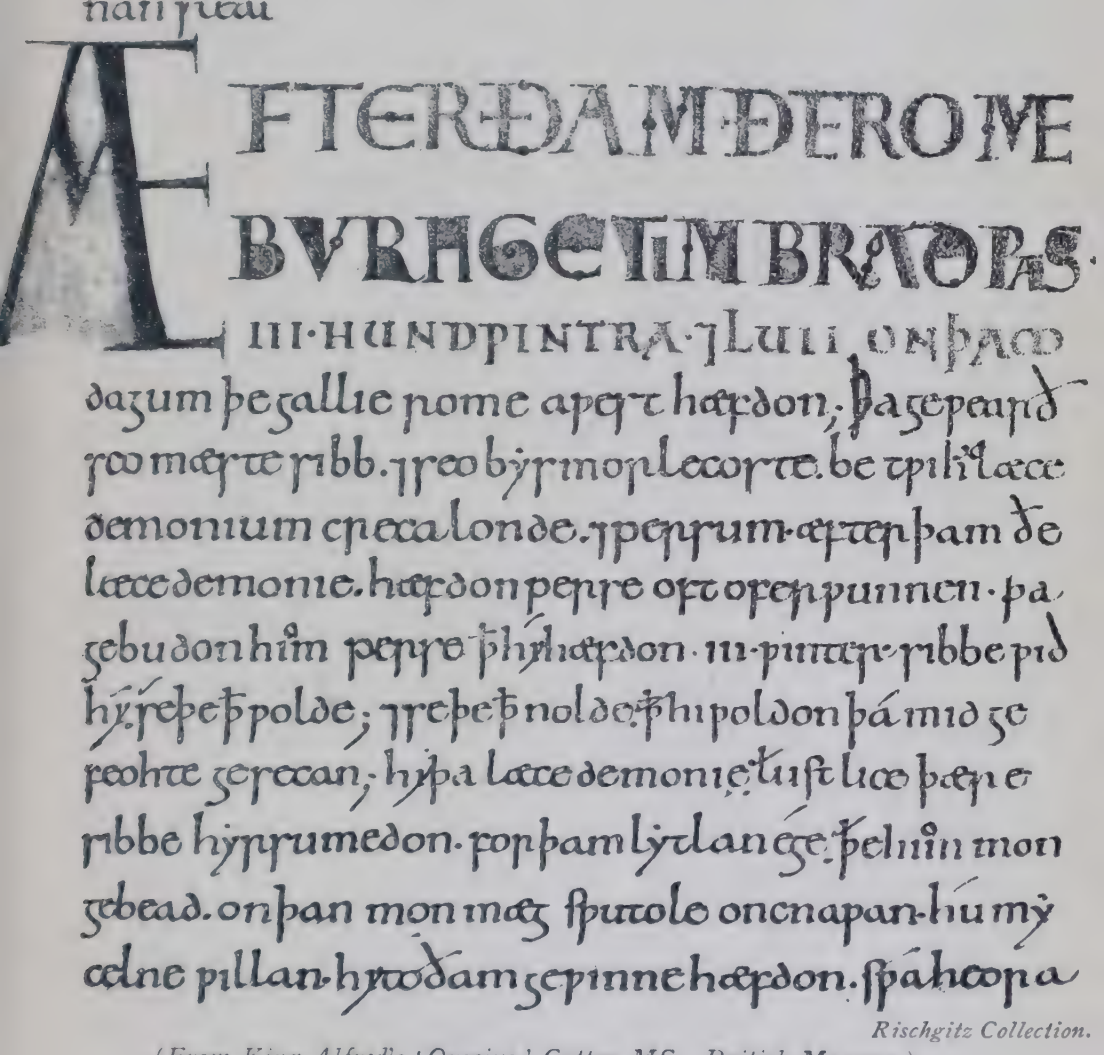
Wicking host besieged Rochester, and was held at bay by the citizen garrison till Alfred brought up the 'fyrd.' The Danes of Guthrum's kingdom forgot their promises and gave help to the invaders, but after a sharp struggle Alfred subdued them once more, and made a fresh treaty with Guthrum-Athelstan, in which London and Middlesex were probably ceded to the West-Saxons.

The land now had rest for seven years, and it is here that Asser, in his Latin 'Life of Alfred,' tells us of the king's daily work, and of his good rule, and of all that he did for his people's welfare.

The flood of Danish invasion had swept away the churches and monasteries, the books and the treasures, of England. 'Learning was clean decayed among English folk.' Latin, the language of the church services, was almost forgotten. The men of Wessex seemed to have lost heart, and to have grown selfish and careless. The clergy were indolent and self-indulgent, the officers of justice were corrupt, the poor had scarce any to help them save the king alone. Alfred was determined to rouse his subjects to a sense of public duty. Unjust or ignorant judges he dismissed, or forced to study the laws which they were called on to declare in the courts of justice. These laws, the ancient customs of the West-Saxons, the Mercians, and the men of Kent, he caused to be gathered together and set down in writing. He built new monasteries, and brought scholars and monks, both English and foreign, into Wessex, to revive learning and religious zeal.

But his chief hope lay in the education of his people. Himself a tireless reader and student, he dreamt of a time when all freeborn Englishmen who had sufficient means to spare time for learning should be able to read

English writing. His own children were familiar with the English books and songs which their father had always loved. In the school which he established for the teaching of English and Latin, the king's son sat


nan þeau
AFTEREDAM·ÐEROME
BVRHGETIM BRADOAS·
III·HUNDPINTRA·ȝLUII ONÞAC
dazum þe ȝallie þome apeȝt hæfdon; þa ȝepeapd
ȝeo mæȝte ribb. ȝ ȝeo bỳȝmoplecorte. be tpi hlaece
demonium cpecalonde. ȝ þeȝȝum æftep þam de
laecedemonie. hæfdon peȝȝe oft ofep punnen. þa
ȝebudon him peȝȝe þhỳhæfdon. iii. pintep ribbe pid
hỳ fepeft polde; ȝ fepeft nolde. þhi poldon þá mid ȝe
feohte ȝefecan; hỳpa laecedemonie. tuiſt lice þæm e
ribbe hỳȝȝumedon. fop þam lỳdan ȝe. þelnin mon
ȝebead. on þan mon mæȝ ſputole oncnapan. hu mỳ
celne pillan. hỳ dam ȝepinne hæfdon. ſpá heopa

Rischgitz Collection.

(From King Alfred's 'Orosius,' Cotton MS., British Museum.)

side by side with the son of the noble and the child of the simple freeman. But the knowledge of Latin was confined to the few, and English books were rare. Alfred then set about translating from Latin into the language which all could understand 'some books

which are most needful for all men to know': St. Gregory's 'Pastoral Care,' Boethius on the 'Consolation of Philosophy,' the 'Universal History of Orosius,' and Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People.' The wise king thought it 'needful' for all Englishmen to know the history of England, that they might be stirred to live as befitted the sons of brave and God-fearing fathers.

With this same purpose he turned to a new task. As he had gathered together the old laws and customs of England, so now he collected the old traditions and records of England's past, up to his own day, and caused them to be written down in the English tongue. Thus was begun the famous English Chronicle, which was carried on after Alfred's death in the monastery at Winchester, and copied and added to in other religious houses.

We learn much of Alfred's reign from the Chronicle, but the best picture of the king himself is painted for us by his friend and companion, Asser, the Welsh Bishop of Sherborne. In his little book we see Alfred as an eager, restless man, full of interest in all sides of life, turning from the labours of government or devout attendance on church services to the superintendence of builders and goldsmiths, to the pleasures of hunting, or to the care of dogs and hawks. We see him reading, listening, questioning, learning by heart, jotting down anything that strikes him in a 'handbook,' orderly, methodical, pious, charitable, sympathetic. We hear how he measured time by candles of equal length and weight, each of which burnt for four hours, when protected by a lantern of wood and horn. We read of his intercourse with the Pope and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Chronicle tells how he even sent alms to the Christians of far-off India.

The period of peaceful activity was broken by a fresh storm of war in 892, when the Northmen came again under the sea-king Hæsten, and the Danes of the Danelaw rose in their support. For four years there was constant fighting. The Danes were defeated at Buttington in the Severn Valley; they were driven out of the ruined city of Chester; their fleet was blocked up in the river Lea, north of London, and they were forced to abandon their ships. At last, in 897, they finally withdrew from England, while the pirates who still infested the coast were beaten off by Alfred's new ships, longer, swifter, steadier, and higher than the Danish boats, each with sixty oars or more. 'Thanks be to God,' says the Chronicle, 'the Danish army had not utterly broken down the English people.' The English triumph was complete; but Alfred had spent himself in the service of his country, and the brief record of his death follows close upon the chronicler's stirring account of his latest victories.

Alfred died, but in his people's memory he still lived on. To them he was 'the wise king,' 'the truth-teller,' the protector of the poor. Round the story of his life grew up fond, homely legends, many of them clustering about the weary months when he was a fugitive at Athelney. Men told how he took refuge in a herdsman's hut, and was scolded for letting the cakes burn which the herdsman's wife had bidden him watch. They described how, disguised as a minstrel, he found his way into the Danish camp and learnt the plans of his enemies. They made St. Cuthbert visit him at Athelney, and cause a great draught of fishes to be taken from a frozen river. Later on, Alfred was credited with all that was good in English government. It was said that he hung up golden bracelets at cross-roads, which none durst steal, so stern was the king's justice. He was

called the founder of trial by jury, of the English shire-divisions, of the Old-English police system. He became, too, a sort of English Solomon to the common people, and the current sayings of the countryside were collected as the 'Proverbs of Alfred,' 'England's darling,' 'England's shepherd,' 'England's comforter.' Later still, he was regarded as the founder or restorer of the University of Oxford, and in the seventeenth century he, alone among English monarchs, came to be known as 'Alfred the Great.'

When, in the January of 1901, electric wires were flashing through the British Empire the message that the Queen-Empress Victoria had passed away, few probably recalled how, some thousand years earlier, a monk in a Winchester cloister was writing in the English Chronicle the simple words: 'Here departed Alfred, the son of Ethelwulf.'

A world of change separates those days from ours, yet there is real fellowship between the king who wrote, 'I have desired to leave to the men who come after me my memory in good works,' and the Queen who 'wrought her people lasting good.'

From Alfred's own Additions to his Translation of Boethius.

The Example of Great Men.—Why will you not inquire after the wise men and those that desired honour, what manner of men they were that were before you? And why will you not, when you have inquired concerning their manner of life, copy them with all your might? For they strove after honour in this world, and laboured to win good report with good works, and wrought a goodly example for those who came after.

ST. DUNSTAN, THE HOLY ARCHBISHOP.

(924 or 925—988.)

THE Danish wars and the consolidating policy of Edward the Elder had done much to weld into one people the Angles and Saxons south of Humber. But no true national unity can be won by common laws and government alone, without common hopes and aims and interests.

Alfred had tried to create a national feeling by leading Englishmen to realize that they were all sharers in the memories of England's past, and fellow-workers for England's future. If his children inherited his military and administrative schemes, the heirs of this, his nobler educational work, were monks and churchmen.

The Church stands beside the Kingship as one of the two great civilizing forces which went to build up the English nation, and foremost among English patriot-churchmen must be placed the devoted teacher and statesmanlike leader, St. Dunstan of Canterbury.

Dunstan, 'God's boy' (*puer Dei*), as his biographer calls him, came of a noble West-Saxon family. Born in the year of the accession of Alfred's grandson Athelstan, he was brought up in that Somersetshire fenland which Alfred had rendered famous, and where, no doubt, stories of Athelney and Æthandun, of Chippen-

ham and Wedmore, were still told over the winter fire. To these patriotic tales would be added pious legends of the saints, when the little Dunstan visited Glastonbury, and saw the church 'raised by no earthly hands,' or pored over the books of his teachers, pilgrims from Ireland, in the monastic school. Love of God and love of country, the master passions of his later life, thus early possessed his childish heart.

Of slight, fragile build, and excitable, sensitive nature, Dunstan, with his quick intelligence and retentive memory, soon equalled his masters and surpassed his companions in knowledge, till his health broke down under the strain, and visions of angels and demons began to haunt his feverish dreams. From Glastonbury he passed to the Court of Athelstan, to be trained with other young nobles in the royal palace. The king who, as a child, had been girt by Alfred's own hands with sword and jewelled belt, was not unworthy of his descent. A conqueror, a law-giver, and a statesman, his alliance was sought by foreign rulers. He subdued Danish Northumbria, and forced the Welsh princes to own his overlordship, and his reign was crowned by the great victory of Brunanburh, when a league of Northumbrian and Irish Danes, Strathclyde Britons and Scots, was broken by the West-Saxon sword, and, as the Chronicle sings, 'Athelstan king' and his brother Edmund won 'age-long glory' in the fight.

Under such influences Dunstan grew up grave and serious-minded, turning from childish games to listen to the talk of his elders, dreaming of the joys of heaven, yet delighting in the beauty of earth, loving the old songs of his country, and soothing the careworn king, like another David, with his harp. So high, indeed, did he stand in Athelstan's favour, that the jealousy of

the other young courtiers was roused. They accused him falsely to the king, and procured his expulsion from the Court. Dunstan now turned to the peaceful life of the cloister. He became a monk, and passed quiet days of prayer and toil in his tiny cell at Glastonbury, painting, illuminating, carving, and working in metal. It was while he was busy at his forge, says an eleventh-century tradition, that the devil looked in at the window, and was caught by the nose by Dunstan's red-hot pincers. A prettier legend, of earlier origin, shows him in the hall of a noble matron, designing an embroidered stole, with the maidens of the household gathered about him, while his harp, hanging on the wall, as if struck by an invisible hand, gives forth strains of angelic music.

On the death of Athelstan in 940, and the accession of his brother Edmund, Dunstan was recalled to Court, only again to be driven out by his jealous rivals. Then, runs the story, as Edmund hunted on the Mendip Hills, the stag and hounds rushed wildly over the steep Cheddar cliffs, and the king's horse only checked itself on the verge of the precipice. Full of gratitude for his escape, and of remorse for his former injustice, Edmund sought out Dunstan, bade him ride with him to Glastonbury, and there installed him in the abbot's chair.

Not long afterwards, in 946, Edmund fell by the hand of an outlaw. He had won the name of 'the deed-doer' by bravely and patiently carrying on the struggle with the Danelaw, by conquering Strathclyde or Cumbria, and by gaining the friendship of Malcolm, the new king of Scots. Under Edred, his brother and successor, the Danelaw, after renewed revolts, was finally subdued, and Danish Northumbria was reduced from an under-kingdom to an earldom.

The nine years of Edred's reign were for Dunstan a period of great influence and activity. He was high in favour with the king, and with Edred's trusted advisers, his mother Eadgifu, widow of Edward the Elder, and Athelstan, ealdorman of East-Anglia, called for his power the 'half-king.' The royal treasure was entrusted to his care, and, like the later Chancellors, he was employed to draw up charters and documents for the king. One such charter, professing to be written by Dunstan's own hand, and signed 'Dunstan, the unworthy abbot' (*Dunstanus, indignus abbas*), is still preserved at Canterbury.

But his chief work was educational. His appointment as abbot had opened to him a wide field of usefulness as an organizer, a builder, and a teacher. The literary zeal of Alfred's day revived in the abbey school of Glastonbury, and in the no less famous school which Dunstan's pupil, Æthelwold, founded at Abingdon. It was perhaps at this time that Dunstan drew the interesting picture of himself as a monk at the feet of Christ, which may still be seen in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

But Edred's death brought changes. As Dunstan rode to the king's sick-bed at Frome, he heard a voice from heaven cry, 'Behold, King Edred has fallen asleep in the Lord.' Coming to the palace, he found the dead king lying deserted, while the fickle courtiers flocked to welcome his successor, Edwy, the young son of his brother Edmund.

With the accession of Edwy, the new danger which was henceforth to threaten the national unity of England became apparent. In subduing the Danes, the English king had raised up a rival to his own power in the great nobles, the thegns and ealdormen,

Rischgitz Collection.

ST. DUNSTAN AT THE FEET OF CHRIST.
(*From a MS. in the Bodleian Library.*)

on whom he was forced to rely, first for military help, and then for help in the government of the reconquered provinces.

The early kings had been able to keep fairly good order and to do justice in person, riding about their little kingdom as a steward rides round an estate. But when the Danelaw was added to Wessex, this was no longer possible. 'I desired,' wrote King Alfred, 'tools and material for the work I was set to do, which was that I should virtuously and fittingly conduct and administer the government entrusted to me.' The only 'tools' which Alfred's descendants found ready to their hands in the work of government were the great landholders, the nobles, for the clergy were not yet trained to rule, and the poorer freemen had lost their spirit of independence and self-reliance during the long wars. Even Alfred had committed Mercia to the care of Ethelred, while Edred placed an earl over Northumbria, and the 'half-king' Athelstan governed East-Anglia.

On Edred's death, the drawbacks of trusting power to these great nobles appeared. Under a boy-king, they usurped almost royal authority. England was divided between two parties: the party of the queen-mother Eadgifu, of Athelstan the 'half-king,' and of Dunstan on the one hand; and on the other, the party of the young king and the West-Saxon nobles, kinsmen of the royal house, chief among them Elfhere, ealdorman of Mercia. The king's party prevailed. Eadgifu was despoiled of her property, Athelstan retired to a monastery, and Dunstan, after offending the king at the coronation feast, was outlawed and driven from England, to find a refuge in Flanders.

His exile was brief. The king's party was divided

against itself. The people north of Thames rose against Edwy, and made his younger brother Edgar king, and one of Edgar's first acts was to recall Dunstan, and to create him Bishop, first of Worcester and then of London.

For a short space England had two kings, but in 959 Edwy died, and the kingdom was reunited under Edgar. Dunstan was now made Archbishop of Canterbury, and became the king's chief counsellor. Peace and justice were the keynotes of the new reign. At Edgar's birth Dunstan is said to have heard the angels proclaiming peace to England while the child reigned and Dunstan lived. The Chronicle echoes the same strain: 'God granted to him that he should live in peace the while that he lived.' 'He bettered the people's peace most of the kings that were before him.' King and archbishop worked as one for the good of England. 'The archbishop's wisdom taught justice to the king; the king's justice won the mercy of God; and God's mercy gave abundance of all good things to the people.'

We read of Edgar's progresses by land and sea, to see that justice was done and that the coasts were freed from pirates. We still have the good laws that were put forth in his name for rich and poor alike, and the songs that were written in praise of the 'beautiful and winsome' prince, 'West-Saxons' joy and protector of Mercians,' and behind the small, slight figure of the king, with its restless vigour, we seem to see the spare, worn form of the archbishop, guiding, restraining, setting before Edgar that ideal of kingly duty which he afterwards put into words for the instruction of Edgar's unworthy son: 'Ah, dear lord, take diligent heed to thyself . . . the duty of a hallowed king is that he judge no man unrighteously, and that he defend and

protect widows and orphans and strangers; that he forbid thefts . . . feed the needy with alms, and have old and wise and sober men for counsellors, and set righteous men for stewards.'

The measures by which Edgar and Dunstan sought to enforce peace were thoroughly practical. They knew that the best way of helping people is to teach them to help themselves. They would have all men feel themselves concerned in the good order of the country. Every man must have a surety, who should be responsible for him to the courts of justice. Those courts were to be held regularly, and the ordinary freemen were to attend them as well as the thegns and ealdormen. A counterpoise to the power of the great nobles was sought in the influence of the great churchmen, and the king was more zealous even than the archbishop in the work of church reform. A stricter rule of life was introduced into the English monasteries, new religious houses were founded, and Æthelwold, Dunstan's pupil, now Bishop of Winchester, won for his zeal in this cause the title of 'father of monks.'

Hand-in-hand with this work of organization went the work of education. The clergy, themselves trained under the influence of the monastic and literary revival, were to be in the forefront of the battle against ignorance and idleness. Every priest was to learn a craft, that he might teach it to others. No learned priest was to reproach him that was less learned, but amend him, if he knew how. The people were to be instructed by sermons, and the clergy were to set a good example by refraining from hunting, hawking, dice-playing, and drinking. Dunstan, one chronicler tells us, had pegs fixed in drinking-cups, to keep men from heedlessly drinking to excess.

The coronation of Edgar at Bath in 973, by the two archbishops, may be taken as marking a solemn recognition of England's completed unity. With it may be connected the story of the eight kings who rowed Edgar on the Dee, while he steered with a golden rudder, and the imperial titles which are given to him:

> 'He ruled the land as emperor;
> For never, since King Arthur's day,
> Was king who held such potent sway.'

But his work seemed to have been done only to be undone. 'The Hallowing of the King' is celebrated in the Chronicle by a ballad. The next entry, in 975, is also in verse—a lament for the king's death:

> 'Here ended earth's joys
> Edgar, of Angles king.'

With Edgar's death, indeed, evil days came to England. 'After Edgar's day,' we are told, 'Christ's law declined, and the king's law vanished.' Again, as in Edwy's time, the king was too weak to check the party divisions of the nobles, for Edward, Edgar's eldest son, was 'a child unwaxen.' Once more the spirit of disunion revived. Once more there were two parties, each with a young prince as centre and puppet: the party of centralization—Dunstan, Oswald, Archbishop of York, and Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia—who carried out Edgar's will, and crowned Edward; and the party of decentralization—the West-Saxon nobles, led by Æthelwine, ealdorman of East-Anglia, son of the 'half-king,' and by Edgar's widow Ælfthrith, Edward's stepmother. These put forward Edgar's younger son, Ethelred, Edward's half-brother, as a candidate for the throne. In 978 Edward died, murdered, later writers declared, by his stepmother's

orders. 'Never,' sighs the chronicler, 'was a worse deed done among English folk since first they sought the land of the Britons.' The two archbishops crowned the ten-year-old Ethelred, and took from him the coronation-oath to protect the Church, to forbid robbery and unrighteousness, and to enjoin justice and mercy. But Dunstan must have known that there was small hope that such a promise would be kept by a boy-king, the tool of a self-seeking party. He is said, indeed, to have prophesied at the coronation that the sword would never depart out of the blood-stained house of Ethelred, and he seems now to have withdrawn from public life, and to have spent his last days in retirement. We have a pleasant picture of him in his old age, surrounded by friends and pupils, leading a life of study, discipline, and charity, rising with earliest dawn to correct faulty manuscripts, working at the bells and organs which were long treasured in the English monasteries as specimens of his skill, preaching eloquent sermons, celebrating the sacred Offices with tears of devotion, writing, teaching, judging between man and man, in all things fulfilling the duties of a good shepherd to his flock, yet amidst the cares of the world preserving a spirit of mystic fervour, seeing heavenly visions, and hearing heavenly harmonies.

His death came in 988. On Ascension Day he celebrated Mass as usual, preaching as he had never preached before, speaking words of hope and love, till his people, as he blessed them, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel, and knew, even before he bade them farewell, that he would not be long with them. Two days later he passed to his rest, murmuring the words of the 111th Psalm: 'The merciful and gracious Lord hath so done His marvellous works

that they ought to be had in remembrance.' 'Oh, most happy,' says his biographer, 'whom the Lord findeth thus watching!'

Weeping crowds followed him to his grave at Canterbury, calling aloud on their 'dearest father.' Miracles were wrought at his tomb. He received canonization from the Pope, and for long the 'holy archbishop' was the favourite saint of the English people.

The true history of St. Dunstan, like that of King Alfred, has been obscured by an aftergrowth of legend. In the pages of his monkish biographers he walks through a dream-world of wonders, where nothing is impossible. He works miracles, preventing a beam from falling by the sign of the cross, or striking water from a rock. He has visions of heaven, and is taught an anthem by angels. Bright-winged doves appear to him, unearthly voices speak to him. When he lies dying his bed is raised from the ground by invisible hands. After his death, he gives sight to the blind and health to the sick, and saves the Canterbury schoolboys from a whipping when they cry to their 'sweetest father Dunstan.'

Stories such as these are told of all the saints of the early Church, but, extravagant as many of them are, they reflect the thought and belief of Dunstan's own age or of the generations that came after him, and they reflect also the character of the saint himself. Through them all shines, like a sunbeam through mist, the light of a good man's deeds, the brightness of the tender, gentle, loving, artistic nature of the great churchman-statesman of whom it is written that he was 'fair of form and eloquent of tongue, keen in mind, tenacious of memory, assiduous in study, skilled in handicrafts, accomplished in learning, discreet in business, foreseeing in prophecy, marvellous in miracle-working.'

SAINT ANSELM, THE LAST OF THE FATHERS.

(1034-1109.)

It is significant of the change wrought in the English Church by the Norman Conquest that for nearly a century after the Battle of Hastings the greatest English Churchmen were not Englishmen. Lanfranc and St. Anselm, the successors on the throne of Canterbury of those island saints Dunstan and Ælfheah, were men of Italian birth, Norman training, and European fame, who brought to the country of their adoption the quickened energy and the wide culture born of a varied experience.

If Lanfranc represents the practical benefits which a closer union with the Churches of the Continent conferred on England, the benefits of strong government, orderly rule, and regulated industry, St. Anselm represents that spiritual influence of the Christian faith which ennobled and gave meaning to the drudgery of material labour. His was one of those saintly characters which were the best fruits of mediæval and monastic Christianity. As a thinker and teacher he bore witness to the educating and civilizing power of the Catholic Church; yet it was during his archiepiscopate that the first signs of strife between Church

and State appeared in England, and thus the story of his life illustrates with peculiar vividness the good and the evil of the wonderful ecclesiastical system of the Middle Ages—its religious charm, its intellectual force, its spirit of exclusiveness and arrogance. Born at Aosta, an ancient Roman town nestling beneath the great range of Alps which divides Italy from Switzerland, Anselm early felt the influences of the classic past, and of a grand and rugged nature. To his childish fancy heaven rested on the snowy mountain-peaks, and in his dreams he wandered up to the palace of God, and sat at the feet of the Lord. His studious, fervent nature led him, while still a boy, to desire the monastic vocation; but his ardour cooled as life, with all the attractions it had to offer for the son of noble and wealthy parents, opened before him, and after his mother's death he seems to have given himself up unreservedly to worldly pleasures. The love of serious things and the passion for knowledge natural to a mind of great power reasserted themselves, however, when his father's severity drove him from home to seek his fortune beyond the Alps. He had heard of the fame of Lanfranc, and after three years of wandering he settled down in the Abbey of Bec, to study and teach day and night under the direction of the great master.

When his father died, a threefold choice lay before him: the life of an Italian noble, administering his hereditary estates for the good of the poor, the life of a hermit, and the life of a monk. It was characteristic of the spirit of compromise which always distinguished Anselm that he chose the middle course, a life in the world though out of the world, active yet sheltered—the life of the monastery.

In 1063, when Lanfranc became Abbot of St.

Stephen's at Caen, Anselm succeeded him as prior of Bec. In 1078 he was appointed abbot on the death of the aged founder Herlouin, and he held the abbacy till, in 1093, he was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Anselm's best years were thus spent at Bec, and the record of his life there has been preserved for us by his disciple, the English monk Eadmer. The daily routine of a great religious house gave scope for ability of all kinds. The monasteries of that early period served as inns for travellers, schools for the young, hospitals and workhouses for the sick and poor, libraries for the preservation of manuscripts. The monks worked hard themselves, and taught others to work. They felled woods, drained and cultivated waste lands, tended flocks and herds, and performed all the household work of the community, which was in itself almost a little world. They were cooks, butlers, tailors, carpenters, wheelwrights, farmers, gardeners, doctors, sick-nurses, musicians, authors, schoolmasters, lawyers, architects, and builders, according to their several gifts, and as the claims of their religious duties gave opportunity. To the abbot, who presided over the whole society, and to the prior, his immediate assistant, fell a specially heavy share of administrative work: the organization of all departments, the responsibility for the moral and physical well-being of the brethren, the representation of the interests of the monastery in the outside world. Anselm proved himself equal to the task. As prior, he gave his whole time and thoughts to the service of God and his fellow-men. Often, after a hard day spent in counselling and exhorting those who came to him for advice, he would pass the greater part of the night in correcting manuscripts, or in meditating, with tears of longing, on the blessedness of the future life. The

jealousies of his brother-monks he subdued by a gentleness which won over the most obstinate. Tenderness was indeed a marked feature of his character. Young men confided their secrets to him as to 'the sweetest of mothers.' He loved children, and reproved an abbot who tried to flog his little scholars into goodness. Trees, he said, would not thrive if they were tied up and restrained from the freedom of their natural growth; the goldsmith would not fashion delicate images by rough strokes of the hammer; even so children would best bring forth the fruits of virtue and show the beauty of holiness if they were treated with fatherly kindness. The later story of the hunted hare which sought and found refuge under the archbishop's horse, and the tales of his personal care of the sick and infirm in the abbey hospital, bear witness to his sympathy with every kind of weakness and suffering.

With this simplicity of nature he combined great intellectual gifts. While still prior he set himself to explain 'obscure and hitherto unsolved questions touching the Divinity of God and our faith,' and throughout his life he occupied himself with writing Latin treatises on difficult points in religion and philosophy, which won him a leading place among the deepest thinkers of the age, so that he has been called 'the last of the Fathers' of the Church, and 'the first of the Schoolmen,' or later teachers of philosophy and theology.

When, most unwillingly, Anselm accepted the position of abbot at Bec, he gave up much of the practical work of the monastery, and devoted himself to contemplation and to the education and discipline of the monks. He now visited the possessions of Bec in England, where he won many friends by his genial

manners and the ready tact with which he adapted his conversation to his hearers, warning and teaching by means of pithy homely anecdotes and illustrations. Even the mighty Conqueror became as another man in Anselm's presence, and when he lay dying at Rouen it was to the Abbot of Bec that his thoughts turned in his extremity.

With the Conqueror's death the hopes of the great feudal nobles revived, but in England, William Rufus, with the help of Archbishop Lanfranc and of the English people, firmly repressed the spirit of revolt. At first the rule of Rufus promised well, but when in 1089 Lanfranc died, the king showed himself in his true colours as one who 'feared God but little, man not at all.' Personally brave, and scrupulous in the observance of the formal rules of chivalrous honour, he had inherited something of his father's shrewd business instincts, as well as his military capacity, but he lacked just those qualities wherein had lain the Conqueror's strength—the kingly dignity, the steadfast will, the unerring judgment. Hard, grasping, ambitious, of a bitter, mocking spirit, there were few to speak a good word for the Red King. He alienated the nobles by his severity, the clergy by his oppression of the Church, the people by his ruthless avarice, all men, in that age of superstitious piety, by his daring irreverence and contempt for holy things. He scrupled not to seize the treasures of the Church, and to retain vacant benefices in his own hands that he might enjoy their revenues, for 'he would be the heir of every man, hallowed and lay.' On Lanfranc's death, even the mother-church of Canterbury was left vacant, 'widowed of her pastor,' for nearly four years. At the Christmas Council of Gloucester in 1092 the king was asked to

allow prayers to be offered in all the churches that God would lead him to appoint a worthy archbishop. 'Whatever the Church may pray for,' sneered Rufus, 'nothing shall prevent me from doing what I choose.' 'By the Holy Face of Lucca,' he cried, when Anselm, then in England, was suggested as Lanfranc's successor, 'neither he nor anyone else shall be archbishop at present, save myself!' But his mood changed when in 1093 a dangerous illness overwhelmed him with the fear of death. Anselm was summoned to the royal sick-bed, and, with full and solemn promises of amendment of life, the king nominated him to the archbishopric.

Vainly did Anselm, now nearly sixty, and reluctant to accept fresh responsibility, plead his age, his incapacity for secular business, the ties that bound him to Normandy. The bishops overruled all his objections, the sick king urged him with tears to yield. When he still resisted, the pastoral staff was held by force against his clenched hand, and he was almost carried into the church, murmuring, amid the cries of 'Long live the bishop,' and the chanting of the *Te Deum*, 'Ye do nought, ye do nought.' To the bishops he gave a characteristic warning. The plough of the Church, he said, had been drawn in England by two strong oxen —the king, representing secular justice and sovereignty, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, representing Divine doctrine and governance. Now to a wild young bull they would yoke a weak old sheep, and the result would be failure and disappointment. The prophecy was soon fulfilled. Anselm did homage in the autumn of 1093, and was consecrated in December. Before the end of the year he and the king were at variance. Rufus had recovered, only to be more reckless than

before his illness. 'By the Holy Face of Lucca,' he swore, 'God shall never have me good for the evil that He has wrought me!' He would be supreme in Church and State; but he merely valued power for selfish ends, whereas Anselm thought that power was entrusted to kings for the good of their people, and that the commands of earthly princes might be disobeyed if they were contrary to the law of God, of which the Church was the interpreter. Disputes were inevitable. Rufus was dissatisfied at the amount contributed by the archbishop to the war in Normandy, and gave vent to his anger when Anselm asked to fetch his 'pall,' the white woollen stole which the Pope granted to archbishops as a sign of their office, from Urban II. Urban was acknowledged as Pope by France and Normandy, but the Emperor supported the rival Pope Clement, and the English king had not yet made his choice. Rufus refused, in accordance with his father's 'customs,' to allow the archbishop to accept a Pope whom he had not himself recognized, though Anselm had declared openly before his consecration that, as Abbot of Bec, he was already bound to Urban. The matter was referred to a Great Council at Rockingham. All the bishops, save Gundulf of Rochester, sided with Rufus, but the lay nobles and the people took Anselm's part. The king, after trying to win over Urban II. by acknowledging him as Pope, at last consented to a reconciliation, and Anselm agreed to take the pall, which a Papal Legate had brought to England, from the altar in Canterbury Cathedral.

But the hope of peace was vain. The king grumbled at the archbishop's offering towards the expenses in Normandy, and at the ill-equipment of the troops he provided for the Welsh war. Summoned before the

king's court, Anselm resolved to go to Rome and take counsel of the Pope. After three refusals from Rufus he threatened to go without leave. This was contrary to custom, and now bishops and barons alike were on the king's side. Rufus bade Anselm either promise never again to appeal to the Pope, or leave the realm.

SEAL OF ST. ANSELM.

He chose the latter course, and after blessing the king, he embarked at Dover, where, as a last insult, a king's officer searched his baggage lest he should be carrying off treasure. Travelling by Cluny and Lyons, he crossed Mont Cenis to Rome in 1098. Urban received him with great honour as 'the Pope of another world,'

but did little practically to advance his cause. In 1099 Anselm was present at the great Lateran Council which condemned, on pain of excommunication, all lay 'investiture'—that is, the grant and reception of the symbols of ecclesiastical office from lay hands—and also all homage of ecclesiastics to laymen for Church honours. Shortly after this he withdrew to Lyons, where, says Eadmer, in the following year, 1100, a beautiful youth appeared in the night to one of the archbishop's clerks, and bade him tell his master that the quarrel with the Red King was at an end. Some days after came the news that Rufus had fallen, shot to death by an arrow while hunting in the New Forest. The tender-hearted Anselm shed tears over his enemy's tragic fate, though to him the accession of William's brother Henry meant restoration to home and country.

One of Henry's first actions was to recall Anselm, 'the noble exile, with whom all religion was also banished,' and to restore him to all his honours. It was Anselm who married Matilda, niece of Edgar Ætheling, to Henry in October, 1100; it was he who held the nobles firm to their allegiance to the king when Robert of Normandy landed in England in 1102.

Yet on ecclesiastical questions king and archbishop could not agree. Henry claimed the right, exercised by his father and brother, of receiving homage from all English prelates for the temporal possessions of their sees, which they held as barons, and also of conferring on them the 'spiritualities,' the ecclesiastical dignities and powers of the office, by the grant of the pastoral staff and ring. But after the Lateran decree of 1099 Anselm felt himself bound to resist this claim, and a long struggle followed, which was really only part of the great struggle over the same question which was

going on at the time between Pope and Emperor. To Henry, according to Eadmer, to lose homage and investiture seemed like losing half his kingdom; but he feared to offend Anselm, lest he should make Robert King of England. Urban II. was now dead, and the new Pope, Paschal II., supported the archbishop, but the English bishops and nobles held to the king.

Long and wearisome negotiations ensued. Embassies and letters passed between England and Rome, and at length, in 1103, Anselm himself went to the Papal Court to try and settle matters. The Pope, however, refused to sanction the 'customs' of William the Conqueror, and the archbishop was given to understand that under the circumstances Henry did not desire his presence in England. Once more he retired to Lyons; but though the king seized the revenues of the archbishopric, there was no open breach, and the queen and Bishop Gundulf of Rochester stood by Anselm throughout. In 1106, the year of the Battle of Tenchebrai, he returned to England, and in the following year, 1107, after a three days' debate in the Great Council, a wise compromise was effected. The king entirely gave up his claim to invest with bishopric or abbacy by staff and ring; the archbishop, with the Pope's sanction, gave up his claim to refuse consecration to prelates-elect who had done homage to the king. The king, that is, retained the right of conferring the 'temporalities,' but surrendered the grant of 'spiritualities' to the Church. It was in essentials much the same agreement as was come to fifteen years later, in 1122, at Worms, between Paschal II. and the Emperor Henry V.

Thus the first great contest between Church and State in England ended in a partial victory for both sides, thanks to the gentle firmness of Anselm and the

calm good sense of Henry I. The struggle was destined to be revived again and again in different ages and in different forms, for it was, in truth, a struggle between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities for supreme power in the Church. In the feudal twelfth century the questions at issue were, naturally enough, the feudal questions of homage and of the grant of lands and authority. If the prelates were exempted from homage for the estates they held of the Crown, the king would not be in any real sense supreme feudal lord in England, and the tie between Church and State would be weakened. In the matter of homage, then, the king was quite right in clinging to his father's 'customs.' This point won, however, he was wise in yielding the further point of investiture, in which no question of landholding or feudal service was involved, and in which the intrusion of laymen might well seem an insult to the spiritual dignity of the Church.

Anselm lived less than two years after the settlement. His last days were peacefully spent in good works, in meditation, and in study. While his frail body wasted away, his mind retained all its vigour. As he lay on his death-bed on the Palm Sunday of 1109, he desired, if it were God's will, to live to solve a question on the origin of the soul with which he was engaged. But this was not to be. He 'left the world for his Lord's Easter Court' three days later, on the Wednesday before Easter, 'in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, and the seventy-sixth of his life.' He was buried near Lanfranc at Canterbury, but his body was afterwards moved to a chapel beneath the south-eastern tower of the cathedral. Miracles were imputed to him, though he does not seem to have been formally canonized till the fifteenth century.

Eadmer records how, at the hour of Anselm's death, a Canterbury monk saw in a vision St. Dunstan and a company of fair white-robed attendants, waiting in the archbishop's death-chamber to lead his soul to heaven.

It was a pretty fancy which linked the great English saint with his worthy successor, 'Anselm, than whom none was ever more tenacious of right, none in this time so thoroughly learned, none so perfectly spiritual, the father of his country, the mirror of the world.'*

From Eadmer's 'Life of Anselm.'

Another time he (Anselm) saw a boy playing with a little bird in the road. The bird's leg was tied with a string, and when this was slackened, it tried to fly away, desiring to escape. But the boy, holding the string in his hand, pulled the bird back every time, thinking this immense fun.

The Father (Anselm), seeing this, had pity on the bird, and breathed a wish that the string might break and restore it to liberty. And lo! the string breaks, the bird flies away, the boy weeps, the Father rejoices. Calling us, he then said: 'Did you notice the boy's game? . . . In like manner the devil plays with many men, whom he nets in his snares, and leads into diverse sins according to his will . . . when they fly away they are drawn back into the same vices . . . nor can they be freed unless by a great effort, and by the grace of God, the string of evil habit is broken.'

* William of Malmesbury.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE AT THE ACCESSION OF HENRY II.

HENRY II., PLANTAGENET.

(1133—1189.)

It is recorded by the chronicler Roger of Hoveden that in the year 1135 Henry I., King of England, summoned the prelates, earls, and barons throughout his dominions to swear fealty to his destined successors —his daughter Matilda, Countess of Anjou, widow of the Emperor Henry V., and her baby son, 'Henry Fitz-Empress.'

The child thus early introduced to the cares of State was born to a goodly heritage. Through his mother he was heir to the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the county of Maine. His father, Geoffrey Plantagenet, was Count of Anjou and Touraine. The blood of the West-Saxon kings, of the Norman Wickings, and of the 'demon-race' of the Angevin counts, mingled in the veins of the little Henry, a boy of passionate temper, adventurous spirit, and imperious will. His early years were passed amidst stirring scenes. When, in December, 1135, Henry I. died, his nephew, Stephen of Blois, found little difficulty in seizing the English throne; for vows of fealty sat lightly on the nobles, and the haughty Matilda and her foreign husband were unpopular with the people. Normandy, too, unwilling to be ruled from Anjou, was divided in its allegiance.

But Stephen alienated his subjects by his imprudence, and ruined his own cause by imprisoning the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, and thus turning the Church, his faithful ally, into his bitter foe. In 1139 the six-year-old Henry saw his mother set sail for England with her half-brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, to press her claims by force of arms. In 1141 he followed her, and while England was torn by civil war, the boy who lived to give her such 'good peace' as never was before, was learning knightly accomplishments in his Uncle Robert's stronghold of Bristol, and longing, doubtless, for the day when he should be old enough to strike a blow for the recovery of his inheritance. When he was about thirteen he returned to Normandy, where his father was rapidly winning back the duchy.

In 1147 he led an unsuccessful expedition into England, and two years later he was knighted at Carlisle by his great-uncle, David, King of Scots. Meanwhile, Robert of Gloucester had died, and Matilda had abandoned the struggle for the English crown: but Normandy had submitted to Geoffrey Plantagenet, and in 1151 the Norman nobles did homage to Henry as their duke. Soon afterwards, by his father's death, he became Count of Anjou, and in 1152 his marriage with Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of the French king, Louis VII., extended his power to the Pyrenees. Strengthened by this alliance, Henry invaded England in 1153, and was eagerly welcomed by his mother's partisans. The war was renewed, but the death of Stephen's eldest son, Eustace, removed one obstacle to the conclusion of peace, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother, pitying the miserable condition of

the people, did their utmost to mediate between the combatants. By the end of 1153 the Treaty of Wallingford was drawn up, by which Henry promised to leave Stephen in possession of the throne till his death, while Stephen adopted Henry as his heir. Order was to be restored to the kingdom by the destruction of unlicensed castles, the disbanding of the armies, and the restoration of agriculture and commerce. The king was to resume the alienated crown-lands and the royal rights which the barons had usurped, the clergy were to have peace and freedom from excessive taxation, and the office of sheriff was to be revived and regulated. Well might the English chronicler declare that all men loved Henry, 'for that he did good justice and made peace.' The reforms were begun at once; but Henry returned to Anjou early in 1154, and was still absent when, towards the close of the year, Stephen died. The last entry in the Peterborough Chronicle tells how, when the young Count of Anjou 'to England came, then was he received with mickle' (*great*) 'worship, and blessed to king in London.'

Thus at the age of twenty-one Henry was one of the mightiest princes of Western Europe, lord of England and of more than half France, 'King of the English, Duke of the Normans, Count of Anjou, and Duke of Aquitaine.' But the very extent of his dominions made it more difficult to govern them, and necessitated a more elaborate system of administration.

In England the first thing to be done was to undo the results of Stephen's reign by carrying out the Treaty of Wallingford. The royal lands which had been alienated by Stephen were resumed; those 'dens of thieves,' the unlicensed castles which had sprung up during the civil war, were destroyed; the older

[*Photochrom Co., Ltd.*

KEEP OF ROCHESTER CASTLE, TWELFTH CENTURY, SHOWING 'NORMAN' ARCHITECTURE.

fortresses were surrendered to the king or reduced by force; the mercenary troops were disbanded, and

'vanished like ghosts.' 'The rapacious wolves,' wrote a contemporary chronicler, 'fled, or were changed into sheep . . . the swords were beaten into ploughshares, and the spears into pruning-hooks.'

The work of restoration was completed. It remained to prevent a recurrence of the anarchy of the past nineteen years. The chief royal rights which the feudatories had usurped in the civil war were military, financial, and judicial. They had built and garrisoned castles, coined money, and held courts 'in royal fashion.' Their military and financial power had been checked by the Wallingford reforms. Henry now resolved to check their judicial power, and to extend the authority of the 'King's Court' (*Curia Regis*) till there was but one system of law and justice throughout his kingdom.

He began by making the special Church courts subordinate to the King's Court. But here he met with unexpected opposition from the very man to whom he most looked for help, Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. The son of respectable London citizens, Becket, after studying in Paris and Italy, became Archdeacon of Canterbury, and was introduced by Archbishop Theobald to the notice of Henry II., who made him Chancellor, and on Theobald's death appointed him to the vacant archbishopric. Becket now renounced his former worldly way of life, and devoted himself to upholding the rights of the Church at all costs. For awhile his friendship with the king stood the strain, but in 1163 came the inevitable rupture. The first serious disagreement was on a constitutional question—the payment of the 'sheriff's aid,' a sort of rate raised locally for the sheriff's services, which the king wished to have paid, like a royal tax, straight into

the Exchequer. But the real struggle was to come over the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Church courts claimed to try all 'clerks,' a term which included all men in the service of the Church—acolytes, choristers and sacristans, as well as priests and deacons. Thus large numbers of persons were exempted from the royal jurisdiction, while, since ecclesiastical courts could not pronounce sentence of death or mutilation, many grave offences were insufficiently punished, and crime grew apace among the clergy. In October, 1163, Henry brought the subject before a Great Council at Westminster. He took his stand on the ancient English customs, and demanded that after a clerk had been convicted of crime in an ecclesiastical court, and degraded from his office, he should be surrendered to the king's officers, and punished as a layman

The archbishop promised unwillingly enough to observe the 'customs,' but when, in a Great Council at Clarendon, near Salisbury, the king called on him publicly to repeat his consent, he complied with many misgivings. Henry then appointed a committee of nobles to ascertain the 'ancient customs, liberties, and dignities of his ancestors.' After nine days' deliberation, they produced the sixteen articles, known as the 'Constitutions of Clarendon.' These articles repeated the old rule against unlicensed excommunication of royal tenants-in-chief, forbade clergy to leave the realm without the king's leave, provided for the election of bishops and abbots, regulated questions concerning presentations to livings, churches on the king's fiefs, and the trial of laymen in ecclesiastical courts, and forbade the ordination of sons of villeins without their lord's leave. They checked appeals to Rome by decreeing that ecclesiastical appeals should go from the

archdeacon to the bishop, then to the archbishop, then to the king, and no further without leave from the king. And they declared that criminal clerks should be accused in the royal court, tried in the ecclesiastical courts in the presence of royal officials, and, if convicted, handed over to the secular arm after degradation from their sacred office.

The archbishop gave a reluctant assent to the Constitutions, but as he rode away from the Council he bitterly reproached himself for his weakness. An opportunity for atonement soon arose. In October, 1164, John, the king's Marshal, who had a claim against the archbishop, appealed to the King's Court, and Henry summoned Thomas before the Great Council at Nottingham. Old charges against him were revived, and he was called on to render a full account of the revenues of the vacant sees and baronies which had been entrusted to his keeping as Chancellor, although he had been released from all secular obligations when he became archbishop. When he refused to submit to the judgment of the King's Court, Henry burst into an ungovernable fit of fury. It was decided to summon Thomas before the Pope for perjury, since he had not observed the Constitutions of Clarendon, to which he was sworn, while the barons proceeded to sentence him for contempt of the king's jurisdiction.

But when the justiciar entered the hall to pronounce judgment, the archbishop sprang to his feet. 'Judgment!' he cried. 'I refuse the king's judgment, for, under God, I am accountable to the lord Pope alone, and to him I appeal.' Then, grasping his archbishop's cross, he strode from the hall amid cries of 'Traitor, traitor!' As he rode away the poor people thronged about him to ask his blessing. That night he fled to

Flanders, whence he passed into France to appeal to the Pope, then at Sens. The king's representatives had arrived before him, and the Constitutions of Clarendon were laid before the Pope, and, after full discussion, all but six of the articles were condemned.

Undeterred by the difficulty of regulating ecclesiastical justice, Henry II. next applied himself to the regulation of baronial justice. The feudatories had their own courts of justice, in which they tried their tenants for small offences, and received the fines paid by wrongdoers. But if a man committed a great crime, he was tried by the royal justices, and his goods were forfeited to the king. Under Stephen the feudatories had encroached on the king's judicial rights. Henry's first care, then, was to reorganize the administration of the king's criminal jurisdiction. He sent 'itinerant' or 'travelling' justices through the kingdom to hear criminal cases in the shire-courts, and in 1166 he issued the 'Assize' or Ordinance of Clarendon, to instruct these justices and the sheriffs in their work. When the justices came round, the full shire-court was to be summoned to meet them, and twelve men from every 'hundred' in the shire, with four from every 'township' or village, were to 'present' or accuse all murderers, thieves, and robbers in their district. The men thus accused were produced by the sheriff, and sent to the ordeal of fire or water. This kind of trial was really an appeal to God to show the guilt or innocence of the accused. After a solemn service in church, the accused man was either thrown into cold water, or made to plunge his arm into boiling water, or to hold red-hot iron. If, in the first case, he floated, it was said that the pure water rejected him, and he was accounted guilty. If the hot water scalded him, or the iron scorched him, he was similarly held

to be guilty. Persons of very bad character, even if they passed safely through the ordeal, were, by the Assize of Clarendon, to be banished from England. Thus the presenters, the 'jury' of presentment as they are often called, because they took an oath (*juramentum*), were simply accusers, while the king's justices merely gave sentence according to law. The *trial* consisted in an appeal to the judgment of God. But the system of 'presentment' was very good, for it brought the 'king's justice' into the country villages, made neighbours responsible for one another, and taught the English people, as Edgar had taught them long before, to take a share in the work of government. Moreover, since the Assize of Clarendon provided that no feudatory, however powerful, might neglect to attend the full shire-court, or exclude the king's sheriffs from his fief, it helped to check the tendency of the great nobles to usurp the royal rights over criminals. The old system of suretyship, or 'frankpledge,' was also preserved, whereby every man was compelled to have 'pledges,' or sureties, who would answer for him in the courts of justice, testify to his character if necessary, and see that he did not escape the punishment of his misdeeds, while all men were bound, when the 'hue and cry' was raised, to join in the pursuit of thieves and murderers.

But Henry was not content with having as much power as his ancestors. He tried to draw into his court not only criminal cases, but the civil cases which had usually been tried in the lords' courts. These cases, in which no crime had been committed, but in which disputes, generally about property, had arisen, were decided by 'trial by battle,' which was also used in criminal cases, and was, like the ordeal, an appeal to God to declare the truth by letting the guilty be

defeated. The two disputants fought with special weapons and according to specified rules, and the one who was defeated lost his cause. But men were beginning to feel that this was a clumsy fashion of settling quarrels, and Henry took advantage of this feeling to introduce a new way of deciding such questions, trial by 'recognition,' or 'jury.' In this, as in the jury of presentment, the witness of a man's neighbours was relied on to prove the truth or falsehood of his claim. A number of men called 'recognitors,' because they 'recognized' the truth, or 'jurors,' because they were sworn, came together from the neighbourhood in which the disputed property lay, and declared upon oath which claimant had the best right. The new method became popular, and was used in many different ways. It strengthened the king's power considerably, for it could only be used in the royal courts, by the king's command signified through a 'writ' or 'writing,' drawn up by the king's clerks. In 1170 Henry further weakened the baronage by holding an inquiry into the conduct of the sheriffs, deposing most of them, and appointing in their stead men who would carry out his ideas.

While these peaceful reforms were being effected in England, the quarrel with Becket had widened into a European controversy, which complicated Henry's foreign policy, but did not prevent him from steadily pursuing his main end, the consolidation and unification of his dominions.

He was now in the prime of life, full of strength and nervous energy, fiery-faced, bull-necked and bandy-legged, with a muscular but clumsy figure, a large head, reddish hair, and grey, protruding eyes—a man of wide ambitions, varied talents, and practical sagacity, but

hasty, violent and self-willed. His marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine had brought him little happiness, and his children learnt to fear rather than to love the father, who, in spite of his affection for them, used them for political ends, and married them with scant regard for their wishes, to suit his schemes of foreign alliance. By 1170 his two elder daughters, Matilda and Eleanor, were the wives of the Duke of Saxony and the King of Castile, while the youngest, Joanna, was betrothed to the King of Sicily, and the future of three out of his four sons was already mapped out. Henry II. seems to have aimed at ruling his vast dominions as overlord, with his sons as provincial governors. Henry, the eldest, was to be associated with his father in the kingship, and to govern Normandy and Anjou; Richard was to have his mother's lands of Poitou and Aquitaine; and Geoffrey was to marry the heiress of Brittany, and to succeed to the duchy. As early as 1158 the three-year-old Henry was betrothed to Margaret, the baby daughter of Louis VII. of France. Two years later the children were married, and the Vexin, the borderland between France and Normandy, was settled on the little bride as her dowry, while in 1162 the barons of England did homage to the young Henry as joint-king with his father. Then came the quarrel with Becket, which was brought to a crisis when, in 1170, the 'young king' was crowned by the Archbishop of York. This offended both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King of France, whose daughter had not been crowned with her husband, and the Pope was persuaded to suspend all the prelates concerned in the affair. At last Henry felt himself beaten, and in July, 1170, he made peace with Louis VII. and with Thomas, promising to restore

the archbishop's estates, and to allow him to return to England.

But Becket refused to absolve the bishops whom the Pope had suspended and excommunicated for their part in young Henry's coronation, unless they would abjure their errors, and the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of London and Salisbury, went to Normandy to complain to the king. 'What lazy wretches,' cried Henry in a burst of wrath, 'have I nourished and brought up, who suffer their lord to be thus shamefully mocked by a low-born clerk!' Four knights determined to wipe out the reproach, and crossed to England. On December 29, 1170, they reached Canterbury, and entered the archbishop's presence. After an unseemly wrangle, they retired to arm themselves. The archbishop's terrified attendants hurried him into the cathedral. The murderers followed, crying, 'Where is the traitor, Thomas Becket?' 'Here am I; no traitor, but a priest of God,' said Thomas. 'What is your will?' 'That you should die!' was the answer; and they tried to drag him from the church. He resisted, and Reginald Fitz-Urse dealt the first blow. The archbishop commended his spirit to God as another blow brought him to his knees. 'For the Name of Jesus and for the defence of the Church, I am ready to die,' he murmured, as his soul took flight. 'Let us go hence,' said one of the murderous band; 'this man will rise no more.'

The murder sent a thrill of horror through Christendom. King Henry shut himself up for three days, and refused to eat or speak. He sent a humble message to the angry Pope, and withdrew to Ireland till the fury of the storm should be past. In May, 1172, he returned to Normandy, met the Papal legates, made full submission, and received absolution. In September he

publicly repeated his submission at Avranches, swearing on the Gospels that he had neither commanded nor desired the archbishop's death, but admitting that his hasty outburst might have provoked the murder, and promising to be faithful to Pope Alexander III., to renounce the Constitutions of Clarendon, to go on Crusade, and to maintain two hundred knights in the Holy Land for a year.

The Archbishop's murder, followed by the Papal absolution, set Henry II. free to resume his former plans. Richard was enthroned as Duke of Aquitaine, the young king was crowned a second time with his wife, and John, the youngest of the royal children, was betrothed to the heiress of Maurienne in Savoy.

But Henry's proposal to endow the little bridegroom with some of the Angevin lands lighted the flame of feudal revolt. The barons on both sides of the Channel had indeed cause for discontent. Their power, military, judicial, and political, was directly threatened by Henry's policy. He had placed his garrisons in their castles; he had taken 'scutage,' or a money-tax, instead of military service from their tenants, and feudal 'aids' and fines from themselves; he had made strict inquiry into the amount of 'knight-service' due from them, and had resumed crown-lands which they had usurped. They saw their judicial authority weakened by the Assize of Clarendon, and their official dignity lowered by the Inquest of Sheriffs, and the king's employment of 'new men' as ministers. The discontent of many years now took shape in a formidable coalition. It included most of the great nobles, English and Norman, the Earls of Chester, Leicester, and Norfolk, the descendants of the houses of Mowbray, Eu, and Belesme, the barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, the king's sons Henry, Richard,

and Geoffrey, the counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois, and the kings of France and Scotland. Supported by Louis of France, young Henry refused to allow John a provision, demanded from his father Normandy, England, or Anjou, where he and his wife might reign as a true king and queen, and then, early in 1173, fled to the French Court, followed by Richard and Geoffrey.

The war began in Normandy. The rebels had some success, but Henry captured the Earl of Chester, and by the close of the year a truce was concluded. In October, 1173, the Earl of Leicester invaded England with a force of Flemings, and was joined by the Earl of Norfolk. The Justiciar De Lucy and the Constable Humphrey de Bohun marched against them, and the country people turned out in force, armed with 'forks and flails,' to slay the hated Flemish 'weavers,' who had come, they said, to seize the English wool. The invaders were defeated at Fornham in Suffolk, and the Earl and Countess of Leicester were taken prisoners. The year 1174 began with a Scottish invasion of Northumberland, and plunder-raids in the East of England, where the rebels ravaged Northampton, Norwich, and Nottingham. Meanwhile, the Count of Flanders and the young king were threatening England with invasion, and the elder King Henry, who had been reducing Poitou, felt that his presence was needed. Crossing to England, he hastened to Canterbury, walked barefooted to the tomb of Becket, and with tears and prayers submitted to be scourged by the monks. A week later, a messenger from the North brought the news that the Yorkshire 'fyrd,' under the sheriffs Ralph Glanvill and Robert de Stuteville, had captured William the Lion, King of Scots, as he sported with his knights outside

the castle of Alnwick. 'Then the king rejoiced greatly, and gave thanks to God and the blessed martyr Thomas.' The revolt was, in fact, practically at an end. When Henry marched eastwards the rebel leaders surrendered their castles. Before the summer was over the king could return to Normandy and raise the siege of Rouen.

In September, 1174, peace was arranged between Henry and his sons, and by the Treaty of Falaise, some months later, William the Lion was set at liberty, on condition of holding his dominions as a vassal of the King of England.

The rebellion of 1173-1174 was 'the last feudal revolt of the great nobles.' The Angevin king had proved, as his Norman and West-Saxon predecessors proved before him, the strength that lay in the support of the Church, the English people, and the official class. Once more the 'fyrd,' the towns, the sheriffs, and the Justiciar had saved the monarchy.

Henry was merciful to his fallen foes, but he seized their castles in England and Normandy, and extended his policy of balancing 'feudalism,' or the rule of the landlords, by an alternative system. In 1176 the Assize of Northampton expanded the Assize of Clarendon. In 1181 the Assize of Arms reorganized the 'fyrd,' and ordered freemen of all ranks to provide themselves with arms in proportion to their wealth. In 1184 the Assize of Woodstock regulated the forest jurisdiction. In these years, too, circuits of itinerant justices visited the shires, and the beginnings of a fixed Central Court of royal justice and finance may be traced. Henry, a born man of business, actively superintended the work of government, and often administered justice in person. The writers of the time give us a vivid

picture of the restless king, always on his feet or in the saddle, constantly changing his plans, and dragging his weary Court and household from one end of his dominions to the other. They tell how he would scribble and whisper during Mass, and how he would retire from public cares to study history and discuss knotty questions with the learned men who were always welcome at his Court. They praise his wit and eloquence, his prudence and liberality, his splendid buildings, his care for peace and justice. Soldier, sportsman, statesman, and scholar, Henry Fitz-Empress, in his keen delight in life, his zeal for knowledge, and the mingled roughness and refinement of his nature, was a typical son of his age, the brilliant, cruel, eager twelfth century.

HENRY II.
(*From his Effigy at Fontevrault.*)

In the years which immediately followed the rising of 1173-1174, Henry's power reached its height. Scotland was his vassal, Ireland his dependency, Wales his ally. On the Continent, he commanded the Channel

coast from the Somme to the Pyrenees, and Toulouse had owned his overlordship since 1173. A provision was found for John, now betrothed to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, in the lordship of Ireland; and the young King of France, Philip Augustus, who succeeded Louis VII. in 1180, was at first willing enough to look to England for protection and counsel.

But by 1183 the young king Henry and Geoffrey of Brittany, with the rebellious nobles of Aquitaine, were in arms against their father and their brother Richard, and the young king's sudden death, followed in 1186 by the death of Geoffrey, raised fresh trouble, for Philip of France demanded the restoration of the Vexin, the dowry of his sister Margaret, and the marriage of Richard to his younger sister Alice, to whom he had been long betrothed, and claimed the wardship of Geoffrey's infant son Arthur; while Richard, now heir to the English throne, refused his father's request that he would give up Aquitaine to his brother John.

Desultory negotiations and fighting occupied the next few years, checked for a brief space in 1188, when the news of the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks reached Europe, and Richard Henry and Philip took the Cross. But even the danger of the Holy Land could not divert Philip from his ambitious schemes. He was soon again at war with Henry, and towards the close of the year, Richard, jealous, apparently, of his father's affection for John, joined his enemies. In January, 1189, Philip and Richard invaded Henry's territories. Maine was overrun, and Henry, almost deserted, fled from his birthplace, Le Mans, to the castle of Chinon on the Loire. Broken in health and spirit, he consented to a conference with Richard and

the French king. He renewed his homage to Philip, and promised that Richard should receive the fealty of the barons of his father's dominions, and should marry Alice on his return from the Crusade. 'Then, when the kings spake face to face,' says an English chronicler, 'the Lord thundered above them, and all men wondered, for the sky was cloudless.' Half fainting, Henry gave Richard the kiss of peace, accompanying it with bitter words of hate, and withdrew—to die.

All who had joined Richard were to remain in his service, and as Henry lay on his sick-bed, worn out with misery, he asked to have the names of these men read to him. First on the list was the name of his favourite son John, for whom he had suffered so much. 'Is it true,' cried the unhappy father, starting up, 'that John, my heart, whom I have loved more than all my sons, has deserted me?' When he knew that it was indeed true, he fell back, and turned his face to the wall. 'Now let all things go as they will,' he muttered with a groan; 'I care no more for myself or for the world.' Three days later, murmuring, 'Shame, shame on a conquered king!' he passed away at Chinon. His servants fled, after plundering the castle, and it was with difficulty that his faithful attendants, Geoffrey the Chancellor and William the Marshal, could prepare the body for its lying in state in the church of the nunnery of Fontevrault. As, robed and crowned, the dead king lay on the bier, Richard strode up the aisle, stood without speaking by his father's side, and then knelt in prayer. 'But,' says the chronicler, alluding to the old tradition that a corpse bleeds in the presence of its murderer, 'blood flowed without ceasing from the nostrils of the king as long as his son remained in the church.'

Before the high altar the broken-hearted king was laid to rest, 'veiled among the veiled women,' as an ancient prophecy had foretold. Ten years later, Richard, on his death-bed directed that his body, in token of penitence, should be buried at his father's feet.

It was natural enough that men should see in the sudden and tragic fall of so mighty a king as Henry II. the judgment of God for his treatment of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He had rebelled against his spiritual father, and God punished him through the rebellion of his own sons. More truly, his misfortunes were traced to the wild strain in the Plantagenet blood, inherited, legend said, from a demon ancestress, and to the evil influence of Queen Eleanor.

Yet, though Henry's life closed in apparent failure, he remains one of the greatest of England's kings. His best work can never die, for it has been wrought into the fabric of the English Constitution, and though the fashion of government may change, the old material subsists, and the old spirit breathes through new forms. Though Henry II. was no Englishman, he had the English gift for adapting the institutions of the past to the needs of the present. In this lay his great merit. He was a Conservative reformer. The itinerant justices and the jury system were not new, but they were new as he used them. The shire-court and the hundred-court were very old, but their powers and activities were developed under the new system. The ideas that all men, however humble, should take some part in maintaining public order, and that king and people should work hand in hand for the common good, dated back to the very foundation of the united English kingdom; yet in these ideas lay the secret of the

strength of the English people, and in giving them new life and a wider interpretation Henry Fitz-Empress was carrying on the work of Alfred and William the Conqueror, and preparing the way for the work of Edward I.

SIMON DE MONTFORT, THE PROTECTOR OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

(*Died* 1265.)

SIMON DE MONTFORT, the great Earl of Leicester, whom all Englishmen agree to honour as the champion of their national liberties, was himself of foreign origin. His grandfather, a younger son of the Norman house of Montfort, married the sister and coheiress of the last Earl of Leicester of the Beaumont line; his father, the famous Simon de Montfort, who led the crusade against the heretics of Southern France, bore the title of Earl of Leicester, though he probably never visited England. After his death his eldest son Amauri resigned his claims on the English earldom in favour of his brother Simon, who succeeded in winning the favour of Henry III., and was confirmed by him in his father's share of the Leicester estates and dignities.

In 1238 Simon married the English king's sister, Eleanor, widow of the younger William Marshal. The marriage gave offence to the baronage, who looked on De Montfort as a foreign intruder. It was asserted that Eleanor had taken a vow of perpetual widowhood, and could not lawfully marry again, but Simon silenced

objections by going to Rome and obtaining a Papal dispensation. He was now formally recognized as Earl of Leicester and Hereditary Steward of England, but in 1239 a quarrel with the king forced him to withdraw to France. In the following year, after reconciling himself with Henry III., he went on Crusade, returning in time to take part in the disastrous campaign in Gascony in 1242; and in 1244 he formed one of the committee of twelve commissioned by the Great Council to treat with the king.

In 1248 Henry III. appointed the Earl of Leicester his Lieutenant or viceroy in Gascony—a thankless office, for the province was discontented and rebellious, the nobles were lawless bandits, the towns were turbulent and independent, and the kings of France, Navarre, Aragon, and Castile were ready to take advantage of England's weakness. For four years De Montfort laboured to restore peace to the country, repressing insurrections with a high hand and with scant regard for mercy or justice, hurrying over to England to plead for supplies, spending his own money in the cause of order, and finally compelled to stand a trial in the King's Court on a charge of cruelty and injustice in his administration—a charge, it is to be feared, not entirely without foundation, though probably exaggerated by the malice of his enemies. Although Henry III. supported the earl's Gascon accusers, the majority of the English nobles took his part, and he was acquitted. In a fit of anger Henry called him 'traitor.' 'Were not the king protected by his royal dignity,' cried Simon, 'it would have been an evil hour for him in which he uttered such a word!' Withdrawing from his post in Gascony, he retired to France, but when fresh Gascon complications arose he generously came

to the king's help, moved, it is said, by the entreaties of the dying Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 'his confessor and dear friend.'

His affection for Henry III. had now given place to an unconquerable distrust, and he returned to England in 1254 to identify himself more and more closely with the constitutional opposition, which had been growing in intensity during his absence. In 1253 the king had been forced to swear to observe the Charters, and a solemn sentence of excommunication had been pronounced against all who should impugn them. In 1254 and 1255 the royal demands for supplies had been met by counter-demands for redress of grievances. Meantime Henry had incurred fresh obligations by accepting the kingdom of Sicily from the Pope for his younger son Edmund, and thus involving himself in the quarrel between the Empire and the Papacy.

Famine, pestilence, and disturbances on the Welsh and Scotch marches added to the general discontent, which reached its height in 1257, when the king demanded a ruinous sum from his subjects to defray his debt to the Pope, Alexander IV., who succeeded Innocent IV. in 1254, and was trying to wrest the Sicilian crown from the descendants of the Emperor Frederick II. 'The ears of the clergy tingled' at Henry's rapacity, and they accompanied their grant of money with a list of grievances. The barons appeared in arms in the Council, and demanded the expulsion of the king's foreign favourites and the appointment of a commission of reform. The days of the Great Charter seemed to have returned. In the 'Mad Parliament,' which met at Oxford in June, 1258, the barons presented a 'petition' containing a long list of grievances, and a committee of twenty-four, twelve from the king's party

and twelve from 'the community of the barons,' proceeded to draw up the 'Provisions of Oxford,' a scheme for the government of the kingdom and the restriction of the power of the king.

The barons petitioned against the way in which both the old feudal dues and the new administrative system of Henry II. were used for purposes of extortion. The rights of marriage and wardship were abused, the local courts were held too frequently and fines were exacted for non-attendance, the justices and sheriffs took bribes for executing the law. The remedy was sought in the appointment of responsible ministers, alike in the central administration and in local government. A permanent Council of fifteen, elected by four representatives of the committee of twenty-four, was, by the 'Provisions of Oxford,' appointed to govern the kingdom and to supervise the king, who was bound to consult it in all important matters. The great officers of State, Justiciar, Chancellor and Treasurer, and the sheriffs, were alike to give an annual account of their offices. The sheriffs were to be chosen from the well-to-do country gentry, to be paid by the king, and to be forbidden to take gifts or bribes. Three times a year a body of twelve, representing the baronage, was to meet the Council of fifteen in a 'Parliament,' to discuss 'the common needs' on behalf of 'the community of the land.' The reform of the Church was entrusted to the original committee of twenty-four, and a new committee of twenty-four barons and bishops was chosen to consider the question of granting an aid to the king. The aliens were forced to surrender their castles, and fled from the country after a slight show of resistance. Hugh Bigod, the brother of the Earl of Norfolk, was appointed Justiciar. The king and his son Edward

swore to observe the Provisions, and the City of London signified its adhesion to the popular cause.

In all these exciting scenes Simon de Montfort played an active part. He was a member of both the committees of twenty-four and of the Council of fifteen. It was he who cut short the refusal of the king's half-brother, William de Valence, to surrender his fortresses, with the curt words: 'Your castles or your life.' He was one of the messengers sent to obtain the consent of the Londoners to the Provisions; and the king's dread of his influence is shown by the story that when, in the summer of 1258, De Montfort offered him shelter from a heavy storm, Henry exclaimed: 'Thunder and lightning I fear beyond measure, but I fear thee more than all the thunder and lightning in the world!'

But the barons, who had won their victory by loyal co-operation, drifted apart when the immediate necessity for united action was over. In 1259 so fierce a quarrel broke out between the Earls of Gloucester and Leicester that De Montfort withdrew to France, saying: 'I care not to live with men so false and fickle.' It is probable that Gloucester cared less for principles than for power, and that his main object was to secure the ascendancy of the nobles in the government, whereas Leicester, whose thoughts had been turned to the theoretical side of politics by his intercourse with Grosseteste, was constant throughout to the cause of constitutional freedom.

During De Montfort's absence the reforms promised in 1258 dragged slowly on, until at the close of the year a protest, supported by the young prince Edward, led to the issue of the ordinances called the 'Provisions of Westminster,' which remedied most of the abuses complained of in the Petition of the Barons. On the day

when these 'Provisions' were published the heralds proclaimed in London that peace had been concluded with France by the Treaty of Paris, which finally ceded to the French king the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. The Earl of Leicester was present with his wife at the solemn confirmation of the treaty in December, 1259.

But peace abroad meant renewed strife at home. The history of the next three years is a tangled tale of intrigue and party changes, of faithlessness and divided counsel. In 1261 the king announced that the Pope had absolved him from his oath to observe the Provisions, and appointed a Justiciar and sheriffs from his own adherents. The danger reunited the baronial party for a brief space; but the king won over the Earl of Gloucester, and persuaded him to refer the questions at issue to arbitration. De Montfort, indignant at this 'apostasy,' left England, declaring that he would rather die a landless man than perjure himself and depart from truth.

He returned in the spring of 1263, to find Gloucester dead, and his son, the young Earl, Gilbert de Clare, heart and soul on the constitutional side. The king's refusal to recognize the Provisions was the signal for civil war. After ravaging the West, the Earl of Leicester advanced on Dover. The king, shut up in the Tower amidst the unfriendly Londoners, who attacked and insulted the queen when she tried to join her son at Windsor, opened negotiations. De Montfort entered London, the prince Edward submitted, and the victory of the constitutional cause seemed complete.

But divisions amongst the barons again prevented them from pressing home their advantage, and by the end of the year both parties agreed to submit to the

arbitration of Louis IX. of France. His award—the 'Mise of Amiens'—was issued in January, 1264. It annulled the Provisions, decreed that all castles were to be restored to the king, and empowered him to appoint to all offices of State and to employ aliens. The work of 1258 was undone at a stroke.

The 'Mise of Amiens' rekindled the flames of civil war. There was no thought of abiding by its decisions. De Montfort entered into alliance with the Welsh and with London, and fortified the Midland strongholds of Northampton, Leicester, and Nottingham. At first fortune favoured the royalists. Northampton was betrayed into the king's hands, Leicester was sacked, and Nottingham surrendered. Meanwhile De Montfort, after failing to take Rochester Castle, fell back on London. Henry relieved Rochester, took Tonbridge, and marched along the south coast to support the Cinque Ports. Early in May he reached Lewes—a picturesque little town nestling between the river Ouse and the South Downs. De Montfort followed with all speed, and, after some futile negotiations, swooped down upon the royal army from the rolling slopes of the Downs on the morning of May 14. Leaving his banner on the hill attached to his chariot, Simon disposed his men in four bodies or 'battles.' The right wing was led by his sons, in the centre was Gilbert of Gloucester, and on the left wing were the Londoners. Simon himself was in the rear with the reserve.

Commending themselves to God, the baronial forces marched down the hill. The royalists formed up hurriedly to meet them, with the king on the left under the dragon standard, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in the centre, and the prince Edward on the right. Burning to avenge the insults offered by the Londoners to his

mother, Edward broke their ranks in a furious charge, and pursued them for three miles. On his way back he saw De Montfort's banner and chariot, and, thinking to find the earl, who had only recently recovered from a broken leg, he paused, with cries of, 'Come out, Simon, thou devil!' to destroy the chariot, and slaughter the men left to guard it. He returned from his rash charge to find the battle lost, the king blockaded in Lewes Priory, and Richard of Cornwall, who had held out for some time in a windmill, a prisoner. Edward succeeded in cutting his way through to his father, only to join with him at nightfall in suing for peace.

By the 'Mise of Lewes' the king agreed to submit the Provisions to arbitration, to call only Englishmen to his Council, to moderate his expenses, to pardon the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, and to give his son Edward and his nephew Henry as hostages. De Montfort proceeded to appoint wardens of the castles, and 'guardians of the peace' to keep order in the counties, and to summon four knights from each shire to attend the Parliament, which met in London in June.

In this Parliament a new scheme of government was drawn up. Three 'electors' were to choose nine 'councillors,' of whom three were to be in constant attendance on the king, and to act as the real governing body of the realm, by whose advice all official appointments were made. Electors, councillors, and all royal officials were to be Englishmen, sworn to be faithful to their trust. The Charters were confirmed, and a general amnesty was declared.

Once more, as in 1215 and in 1258, the arbitrary power of the monarchy had been curbed by the baronial leaders of a national opposition. But in 1258 a bloodless revolution had resulted in a somewhat clumsy

Photochrom Co., Ltd.

THE BARBICAN OF LEWES CASTLE.

system of committee government. In 1264, a victory, won at the point of the sword, left De Montfort the practical master of England—king in all but name—for the three electors with whom rested the choice of the administrative Council of nine were the Earl of Leicester and his devoted adherents, the Earl of Gloucester and the Bishop of Chichester. The opportunity had come for Simon to realize those dreams of 'the ideal government of souls and bodies' in which he had indulged with Grosseteste. A Latin poem, written probably soon after the Battle of Lewes by a warm partisan of the Earl of Leicester, embodies that constitutional theory of a monarchy limited by law which all through the Middle Ages is found opposed to the theory of absolutism—the doctrine of a king above the law.

Henry III. had thought, as his father had thought before him, that the king's will was law. But the Law says, 'By me kings reign.' True liberty is bounded by law, and the true king is he who dares not do evil; for the king is not set over his subjects that he may live for himself, but that he may cherish and protect his people. The poet seeks a remedy for the disorder of the kingdom in a responsible ministry, acting by the advice of the 'community'; and it is the justification of Simon de Montfort that to him the 'community' meant something wider than his own order, the baronage. He rested his government on the support of that great middle class which was just rising into prominence, and thus deservedly won the proud title of 'Protector of the English people' (*Protector gentis Anglicæ*).

In 1264, when the queen threatened invasion from France, it was a national army that gathered from the English shires to defend the coast. When the Papal

Legate excommunicated the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the majority of the English clergy stood by them. In 1265 De Montfort signalized his alliance with the country gentry and the trading classes by summoning to Parliament both knights of the shire and representatives of cities and boroughs.

But the forces which were against Simon were stronger than those which were with him. His sons were arrogant and unpopular, the barons were jealous of his power, the Earl of Gloucester was discontented and vacillating, the Marcher lords were restless, and the aliens were beginning to return. In May, 1265, the prince Edward escaped from Hereford and put himself at the head of the opposition. He won over the Earl of Gloucester by promising to observe the ancient laws and not to admit aliens to power, and the Marchers joined him. De Montfort tried to strengthen himself by an alliance with the Welsh, but Edward seized the towns of Worcester and Gloucester, and hemmed the earl in beyond the Severn by breaking the bridges, guarding the line of the river, and destroying De Montfort's ships in the Bristol Channel. When Simon's son and namesake marched to his father's relief, he was surprised at Kenilworth by Edward, and utterly routed.

On Sunday, August 2, 1265, the Earl of Leicester at last succeeded in crossing the Severn below Worcester. Two days later he reached Evesham, where he hoped that his son's reinforcements would join him. The royalist forces advanced in three bodies from separate points, and converged on the town, which lies in a loop of the river Avon. 'God have mercy on our souls,' said De Montfort when he saw the approaching armies, 'for our bodies are our foes!' His son Henry urged

him to escape. He was too old, he replied, to begin to fly from battle. His followers, when he in turn begged them to save themselves, were equally firm. 'Come, then,' said the old earl, 'let us die like men.' As Edward's troops drew near, De Montfort exclaimed: 'By the arm of St. James, they come on well! They learnt that from me.' Gathering his forces, he attacked the royalists with the courage of despair. In the fierce hand-to-hand fight that followed, his son Henry fell. 'Now is it time for me to die,' cried Simon, throwing himself into the thickest of the fray. Not deigning to reply to the shouts of 'Yield, traitor, yield!' he sank mortally wounded, and breathed out his spirit in the words 'Dieu merci,' fulfilling thus the prophecy of Grosseteste that Henry de Montfort and his father should die in one day for the cause of truth and justice.

After Simon's death the battle became a mere massacre, and even the earl's dead body is said to have been horribly mutilated by his savage foes. But his friends told how, on the Sunday before the battle, a boy brought to be healed at the tomb of Grosseteste, waking from a trance, bade his parents return home, for the bishop had gone to Evesham, 'to help his brother Simon, who was to die there.'

*'Such was the murder of Evesham, for battle none it was.'**

'Thus,' wrote a contemporary historian, 'ended his labours the illustrious Earl Simon, who spent not only his goods, but his life, in delivering the poor from oppression and in establishing justice and liberty.' Like St. Thomas of Canterbury, with whom his followers delighted to compare him, De Montfort

* Robert of Gloucester.

triumphed in defeat. The pride, the ambition and the overbearing temper which had marred his fair fame in life were forgotten in the memory of his tragic death and of his strength and steadfastness. His name passed into popular song and tradition. Services were written and hymns composed in honour of 'Sir Simon the Righteous.' Miracles were performed at his tomb and on the scene of his 'martyrdom,' and as early as 1266 it was found necessary to forbid the English people to honour Simon, Earl of Leicester, as a saint.

SONG AGAINST RICHARD OF CORNWALL.

Sitteth all still and herkneth to me:
The King of Alemaigne,* by my loyalty,
Thirty thousand pound asked he
For to make the peace in the country,
And so he did more.
Richard, though thou be ever trichard (*a deceiver*)
Trichen shalt thou never more.

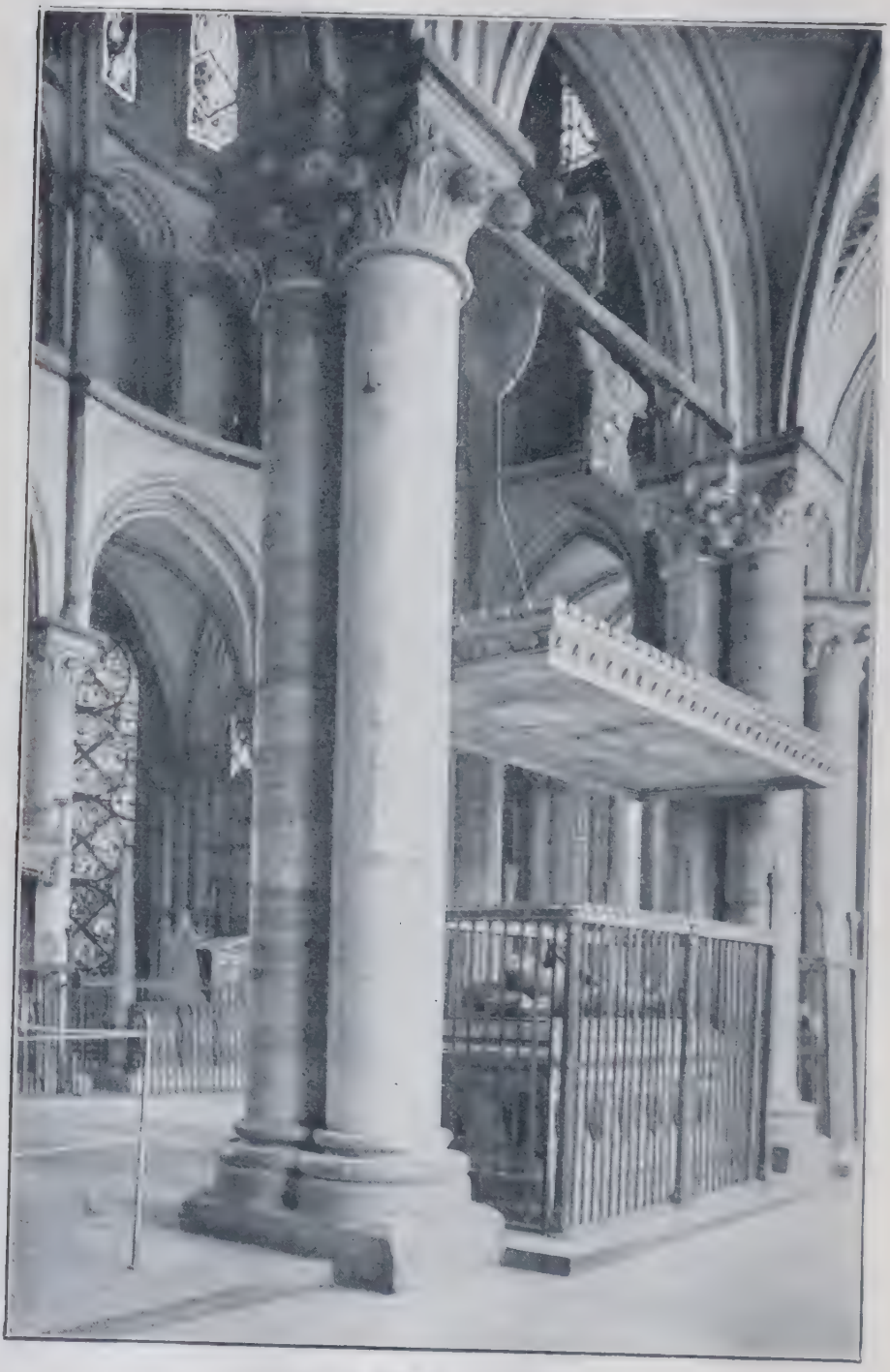
* * * * *

The King of Alemaigne weened do full well,
He seized the mill for a castle,
With their sharp swords they ground the steel,
He weened that the sails were mangonel
To help Windsor.
Richard, etc.

The King of Alemaigne gathered his host,
Made him a castle of a mill post,
Went with his pride and his mickle (*great*) boast,
Brought from Alemaigne many sorry ghost
To store Windsor.
Richard, etc.

---

* *Germany*. Richard was King of the Romans.



TOMB OF THE BLACK PRINCE.

EDWARD III.

EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.

(1330—1376.)

THE eldest son of Edward III. was Edward, commonly called 'The Black Prince.'

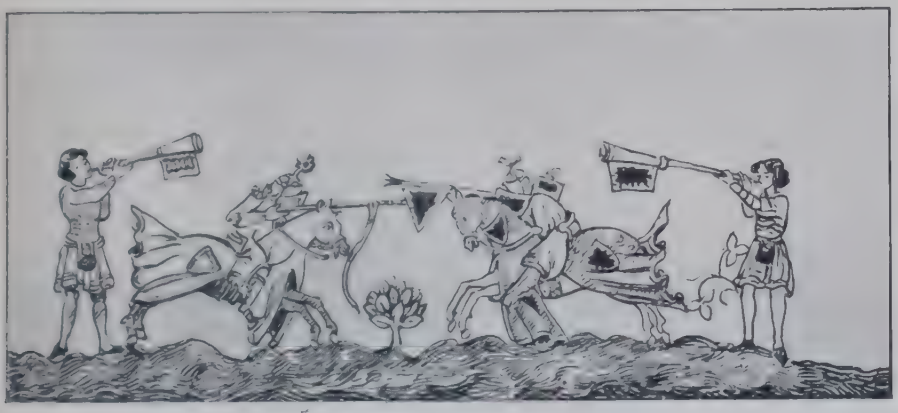
His father could hardly make enough of him. The messenger who brought the news of his birth was

handsomely pensioned, so was his nurse, and even his special cradle-rocker. When he was three years old he was created Earl of Chester, and a little later a title used in France but new to the English was conferred upon him, and he was made Duke of Cornwall. These titles brought great possessions with them: castles and forests, rents from estates, valuable mines, troops of cattle, and granges stored with corn, so that the boy prince had a splendid household to attend upon him. He was but seven years old when he was placed at the head of a solemn procession of noblemen, who conducted into London the ambassadors of the Pope—two cardinals who had come to try to arrange a peace between the Kings of England and France. This must have been the little prince's introduction to the great war in which the whole of his life was to be spent, a war which lasted long after his death, and which we often call the 'Hundred Years' War.'

Though Edward III. claimed the French crown in 1337, he spent so many years in making preparations and persuading allies to join him that, except for the famous sea-fight off Sluys, there was little serious fighting till 1346, when the prince was old enough to begin his training in chivalry.

When he was thirteen he was created Prince of Wales, and invested with a gold circlet, a ring and a wand; and to celebrate the feast King Edward proclaimed a 'Round Table' at Windsor, and set masons to work to build the Round Tower of the Castle, and make a place for the tournament. A Round Table meant a succession of feasts and jousts, supposed to be like those of King Arthur and his knights, who, said legend, feasted at a round table, because all were equal in chivalry. This one was to be so magnificent that

heralds were sent to proclaim it in the courts of other kings, and famous knights came to attend it from almost every country except France. Nothing was to be seen at Windsor but rich armour and gorgeous raiment, velvet, furs, and cloth of gold. Queen Philippa and three hundred beautiful ladies were the judges of valour, and the victors in the jousts received costly gifts. Tournaments were supposed to be only mimic battles, trials of skill and strength, but the knights were often dangerously wounded and on this occasion the Earl of Salisbury was actually killed.

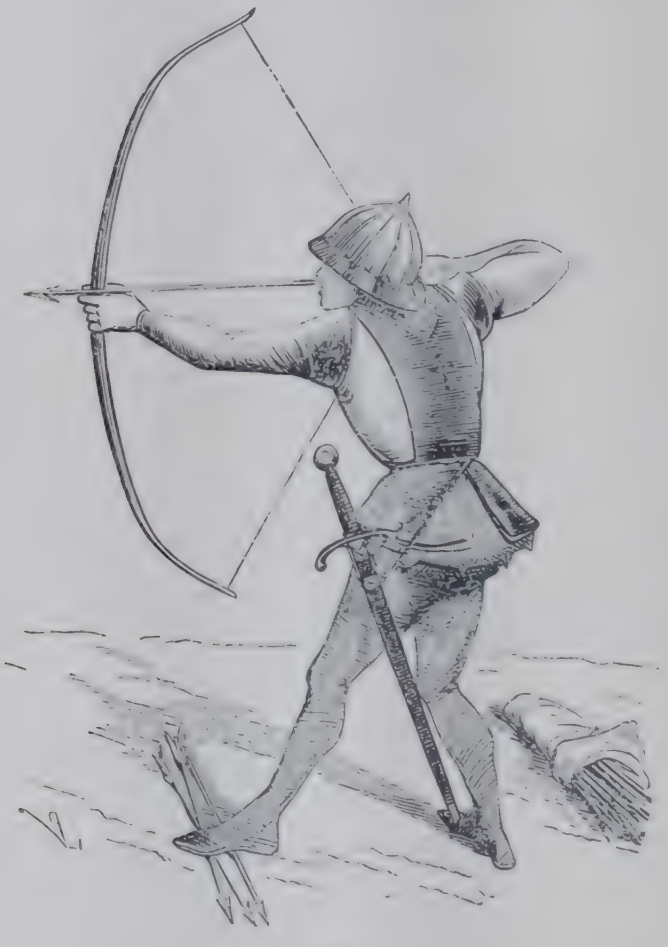


KNIGHTS TILTING.

Meantime serious preparations were being made for continuing the war. The king relied now chiefly on his own resources, and collected troops carefully. As the old feudal method of calling soldiers together had become quite useless, he issued orders to different noblemen to find each a certain number of men, who were to be paid, and the money for each troop was given to its commander. The Prince of Wales was to have £4 a day—worth, perhaps, £60 of our money—while the next in rank, the earls, only got 6s. 8d.

The pick of the army was considered to be the

knights, who came in heavy armour, mounted on strong steeds much like our small cart-horses, with lance, shield and sword, each attended by his esquires and yeomen; but quite as important really were the archers, who carried long bows of yew, some six feet in length.



ARCHER.

They were famed throughout Europe for the speed with which they shot their volleys of long arrows, winged with goose-feathers. They drew them back to the ear before letting fly, and thus sent them with more force than other archers, who only drew to the breast,

so that English shafts would pierce even armour, and, besides, rarely missed their mark.

At last, in 1346, Edward III. set sail for France with a splendid army. The Prince of Wales was now sixteen years old, and accompanied his father at the head of a body of troops from his own lands of Wales and Chester. The Cheshire archers were famous, and the Welshmen made very good light troops and used long daggers, with which they often penetrated the fine joints of armour.

Besides soldiers the king took a number of smiths, masons, carpenters, and other workmen, to help in building bridges and fortifications or engines for besieging castles. He also took his falconers and huntsmen with hawks and hounds, that he might amuse himself on the march, for he and his nobles looked upon war simply as the noblest of sports. He meant when he started to go to Aquitaine, where the gallant Henry of Lancaster and Sir Walter Manny were fighting against great odds, but a Norman gentleman persuaded him that it would be more interesting and profitable to attack Normandy, where nobody expected him. So Edward directed the fleet to Barfleur, and led the way ashore, springing from his ship so eagerly as to fall down, so that his nose began to bleed. His followers were alarmed at so bad an omen and begged him to return on board and land afresh next day, but the king answered quickly, 'This is a good token for me, for the land desireth to have me.' So he spent the night on the sands, and his first public action was to dub the young prince a knight.

As the English landing was unexpected they were able to overrun Normandy and take many towns. War was a means of winning fame and plunder quite as much

as a means of conquering territory, and Edward III., who had no clear plans for a campaign, probably thought that the French would be frightened into making a treaty and giving him what he wanted. Accordingly, he divided his forces into three divisions, or 'battles,' and let them march parallel with each other through the populous duchy of Normandy. The inhabitants fled before them, for they had never known what war meant, and left their houses in the country stored with food and wealth, while the towns were full of cloth and draperies, and all manner of merchandise. Everything was carried off or destroyed by the enemy, who often left whole towns in flames behind them. Those who were not of noble birth always suffered savage treatment in war time; they were beneath the sympathies of the 'chivalrous' King of England, and probably his soldiery bore special ill-will against the Normans, for their sailors had ravaged the southern coast of England, and their busy cloth-making towns were rivals of both the English and Flemish cities.

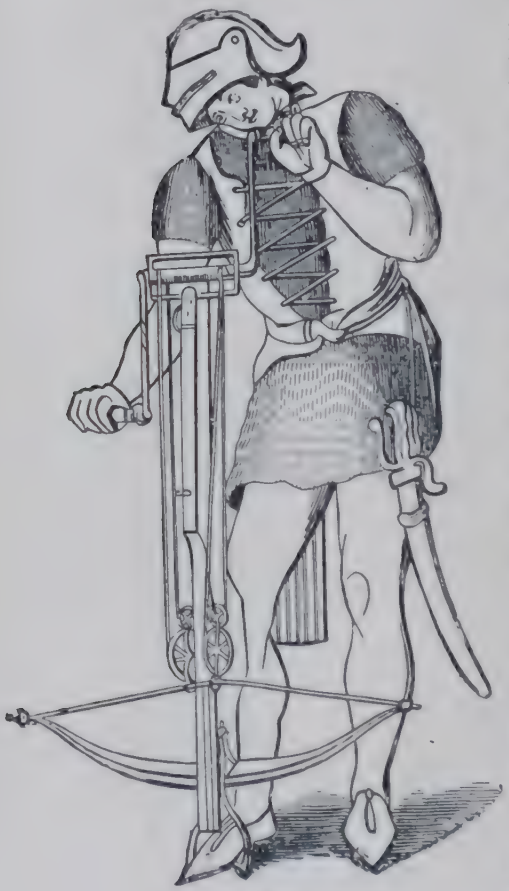
The French king, Philip VI., could not fight Edward III. at once, because his army was in Aquitaine, and it took a long while to collect another at Paris. All he could do was to break down the bridges over the Seine, and try to keep Edward between the Seine and the Loire, out of reach of either Henry of Lancaster or his allies, the Flemings, till the two French armies could catch him between them. The English were thus in a dangerous position, especially as the fleet had sailed home with plunder, and Edward saw that he must cross the Seine and hasten northwards towards friendly Flanders. He was actually within sight of Paris before he could find a bridge at Poissy which the workmen could repair, and by that time

Philip was at the head of a large army, and had been joined by some German knights under the blind King John of Bohemia, who had been a very famous knight in his youth.

Before the English could reach Flanders they had to cross the Somme, and as its bridges had been broken down and the fords were guarded the French were soon only one day's march behind. Once the English had to leave the quarters they had prepared for the night and fly just as their suppers were cooking, leaving 'flesh ready on the broaches, bread and pasties in the ovens, wine in the barrels, and the tables ready laid.' Just in time a peasant, Gobin Agace, showed them a ford near the mouth of the Somme called Blanche Tache, and they fought their way over and got food from a town near. King Edward freed Gobin and his friends and rewarded him richly, but he saw that he could retreat no further and must fight, though he had but one quarter of the numbers of the French host. So early next morning all confessed and received the Sacrament before taking up a position for battle. This the king chose skilfully upon sloping ground at Cressy near a wood. Behind his troops and beside the wood he had all the horses tethered within a wall of carts, and bade the men fight on foot. The front line of battle was commanded by the Prince of Wales with the Earl of Warwick, and behind it stood two more lines, the third being a reserve commanded by the king himself, who could see the whole field of battle as he stood beside a windmill on the hill.

The French were uncertain where the English were, and Philip had so little control over them that he could not prevent them from hurrying forward and crowding on each other in the anxiety each felt to be foremost in

the fight. When they at last came in sight of the enemy the English were quietly resting on the grass, each man in his place, with helmet and bow ready beside him. They had partaken of food, and now rose up steadily to await the onset. The French ordered their archers, who were hired from Genoa, to go forward and begin; but the poor men were weary with the long hot march they had made on foot, and just as they were preparing a sudden thunderstorm came on and wetted their heavy crossbows. They did their best, however, though the sunshine after the storm came straight into their eyes, and with three wild yells began to shoot. 'Then the English archers stepped forth one pace and let fly their arrows altogether, and so thick that it seemed snow. When the Genoese felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms, and breasts many of them cast down their crossbows and did cut their strings, and returned discomfited.' The French knights wanted to charge, and as the retreating Genoese were in their way Philip cried angrily, 'Cut me down these rascals!' and they began to stab at the poor archers and ride them down.



CROSSBOW.

'And ever the Englishmen shot as they saw thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men-at-arms and their horses, and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoese, and when they were down they could not rise again; the press was so thick that one overthrew another.' Then the Welsh and Irish came into the press with their long daggers, and slaughtered the knights and nobles as they lay helpless in their armour.

Meantime a picked body of knights had forced their way round the struggling crowd, and charged the line where the Prince of Wales was. They fought fiercely hand-to-hand, and at one moment the young prince was struck to the ground, but his standard-bearer flung the banner of Wales over him, and stood across him, beating off his foes. Then the Earl of Warwick sent a knight to the King to ask for help. 'Is my son dead, or hurt, or on the earth felled?' asked Edward. 'No, sire,' quoth the knight, 'but he is hardly matched, wherefore he hath need of your aid.' 'Tell them to send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, so long as my son is in life,' said the king, 'and also say to them that they suffer him to win his spurs, for, if God will be pleased, I will this day to be his and the honour hereof, and to them that be about him.'

In fact the firmness of the men-at-arms and the tireless skill of the archers at length beat off the huge but disorderly French army. The king embraced his son joyfully, saying, 'Dear son, God give you grace to persevere as you have begun!' It was after this Battle of Cressy that the young Edward was called 'The Black Prince,' either because of his fierceness, or from his black armour; and it is thought that he took his modest motto, *Ich dien* (I serve), from the bravest of his foes at Cressy. This was the old blind King of Bohemia, who

had prayed his friends to let him 'deal one good stroke of his sword in the battle.' So four of his knights tied the bridles of their horses and his together, and galloped into the thickest of the fight, when they all met a soldier's death valiantly.

After this famous victory (1346) the king and prince led their victorious army to the city of Calais, a wealthy seaport and centre of trade. Prince Edward was present during the eleven months' siege, and saw the surrender of the six citizens, and his mother's rescue of them (1347). After that he returned home to take his share in the splendid rejoicings which celebrated the victory of Cressy and the taking of Calais. The country was wild with pride, and much enriched, too, by the plunder of France. There was not a household but had got gold or silver or rare vessels or rich garments, and London and the rest of the land gave itself up to feasting, tournaments, and all kinds of gaiety. The king himself marked his triumph by founding the Order of the Garter, and holding a great feast, and the first knight of the new order was his son, the Black Prince.

There were no more feats of war for some years, for the dreadful pestilence called the *Black Death*, which first came in 1348, made such terrible ravages in England, as in the rest of Europe, that it was impossible to collect an army for some years. The only interruption of peace was caused by a fleet of Spanish ships, which acted like pirates and captured our Gascony merchantmen. Both the king and the prince went out in the English fleet to attack them, and the Black Prince took with him his brother, John of Gaunt, who was only ten years old. He gallantly attacked a Spanish ship which was much larger and had turrets built on her decks and even on the tops of her masts. Out of these archers

and engineers hurled all kinds of missiles, and soon the prince's ship began to fill with water. The two vessels were touching each other, and with great courage he led his men right up the side of the Spaniard, as if it had been a castle, to take it, as the only way of escaping drowning; but he could hardly have succeeded if the Duke of Lancaster had not brought his ship to attack the Spaniard on the other side. The prince just succeeded in mastering the ship in time, as his own sank. In the end a great victory was gained over 'les Espagnols sur mer,' and Edward III. might claim to be really Sovereign of the Narrow Seas (1350).

When the war with France was renewed in 1355 Philip VI. was dead and his son John was king. The Black Prince led the campaign, and determined to conquer the south of France which lay beyond the English province of Gascony. So many wished to serve under him that there was not enough armour for all who wished to buy. Many famous knights went with him—Sir John Chandos, Sir James Audley, the Captal de Buch, and many others. After a plundering expedition, from which he returned to Bordeaux with the spoil of fifty cities, the prince set to work steadily to capture and keep fresh places. He sent such a great force that the towns could not resist, and either surrendered at once or paid great sums to avoid being plundered, and thus without bloodshed a large district was soon conquered.

Edward soon spent his money in Bordeaux, and next year made a great effort again. He would plunder the rich country to the north of Gascony, and fight his way to Normandy to join his gallant cousin Lancaster who was conquering there. He marched triumphantly as far as Bourges, wasting the land as he went, but he

could not cross the Loire, for an overwhelming French army, under King John himself, lay at the only crossing place, Chartres; so he resolved to retreat. The French pursued; but so little news had the two armies of each other, that neither knew where the other was till the Captal de Buch by accident attacked King John's outposts, and the French then placed themselves in front of the English at Poitiers. The Black Prince was not rash enough to wish to fight against such great odds, and offered a great sum of money and a truce for seven years, as a ransom. King John, however, insisted that the prince must surrender with a hundred of his knights, and this he would not do. 'God help us! for all that is left to us is to fight as best we can,' he said, and thus began the famous Battle of Poitiers (1356).

The English were well placed along the side of a little hill, where they had made some fences and trenches, in addition to the hedges and vines along their front. A narrow lane led up it on either side of which, safe from the French cavalry behind the hedges, the Prince placed his archers, and hid a small body of horsemen to surprise the French flank. At daybreak he addressed his men, and added to his dearest friend Chandos: 'John, get forward; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will be ever with the foremost.' Then he cried: 'Advance, banner, in the name of God and St. George!' Luckily the French attacked in the old-fashioned feudal style. A body of knights tried to dash up the lane, but the archers shot them all down, and did the same to a second charge, so that the lane was choked with dead; then the English ambush fell upon the French second division, the prince charged himself, and the whole 'battle' of the Duke of Normandy fled, followed by the second 'battle,' so that

only King John with the last 'battle' remained, fighting gallantly a long while before he surrendered.

A great number of French were slain and a hundred noblemen taken, whose ransoms would make their captors rich. Indeed, the hope of securing a rich prisoner was one of the chief reasons for the zeal which the English showed for the war, and Sir John Chandos was observed to be especially chivalrous in that he would not leave his post to secure any prisoner, but kept on fighting and guarding the prince.

When the fight was over the Black Prince entertained the French king in his tent, waiting upon him with his own hands, and trying to comfort him by compliments on his courage. Then he hastened to Sir James Audley, who was desperately wounded, and embraced him as 'the best doer in arms' that day. He named him especially his own knight henceforth, and gave him five hundred marks a year. This gift Audley at once bestowed upon his four esquires who had fought by him throughout the battle, and when the prince heard it he was so much pleased that he ordered six hundred more to be given to his friend. In other such royal gifts and in splendid festivals at Bordeaux Edward spent the chief part of his plunder, for he only cared to have that he might give. It was an age of magnificence: when the prince brought the captive King of France to London the walls of the houses were hung with tapestry, windows and balconies filled with piles of silver plate and rich armour, bonfires blazed, and plays and music were performed in the public places; but while King John, clothed royally, rode on a large white steed, the principal figure in the procession, the prince at his side was on a little black hobby, 'as one that avoided all suspicion of triumph.'

There was the most friendly feeling between the royal family and the Londoners. When the city made a grand tournament to honour the King, he with his four sons and a few noblemen came dressed up as the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen, and in this guise held the

STORMING A CASTLE.
(*After Froissart.*)

lists as champions of the city and defeated all comers, to the great delight of the worthy citizens. In tournaments the Prince used to wear a badge of an ostrich feather, or three feathers, such as we are familiar with now.

The next expedition to France ended in the Peace of Bretigny (1360), which gave a much-needed rest to both countries. Edward III. resigned his claim to the crown of France, and secured instead Gascony and Guienne, and Calais and the district round it. The southern provinces he gave to his son, who had really conquered them, and who now established himself with a magnificent court at Bordeaux as Prince of Aquitaine. He had just married his kinswoman the Lady Joan, 'the Fair Maid of Kent' as she was named. He was only thirty years old, and already the most brilliant general of the time, surrounded by devoted friends, worshipped by his people, feared by his foes—in short, at the very height of prosperity and glory. His task in Aquitaine was difficult, for the Gascon nobles were accustomed to a lawless freedom, and disliked the presence of a prince who kept them in order. The wealthy cities grumbled at the taxes, and all were irritated by the haughty ways of the English lords whom Prince Edward was obliged to keep around him. Still, he succeeded fairly well, with Sir John Chandos to help him as Governor of Guienne; and the people were becoming loyal and growing prosperous when all was spoiled by a new and unnecessary war.

Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, had been driven from his throne by his indignant subjects, and he came in his exile to appeal to the chivalrous feelings of Edward to help him. He was already friendly with the English royal family, and as he was brave, accomplished, and handsome, the Black Prince sympathized with him and actually undertook to help him to regain his throne, in spite of all the arguments of the wiser Sir John Chandos. The new French king, Charles V., was not sorry that the English should be entangled in

war elsewhere, and helped Pedro's rival, his half-brother Henry, by allowing the famous French captain, Bertrand du Guesclin, to lead a band of adventurers on his side.

Pedro the Cruel promised such great rewards and honours to his allies when he should recover his kingdom that the prince and his followers expected to reap a rich harvest. They fought and won for Pedro the fierce battle of Navarrete (1367), in which Chandos took Du Guesclin prisoner, and then Pedro, after profuse thanks, went away to the south 'to fetch the money' to pay the English troops. They waited in vain; no money nor even food was sent, and great numbers died in the hot, unhealthy summer. The prince fell very ill, and at last he had to drag his half-starved, diseased army back into Aquitaine, and to find the enormous sum needed to pay them. Many of the troops were mercenary soldiers, who fought in bands called Free Companies for anybody who paid them, and these men behaved so violently while waiting for their pay that Edward let them go over the French frontier, where there was no one to prevent them from pillaging the unfortunate people.

Charles V. was naturally very angry at this. He said it was a breach of the Peace of Bretigny, and he seized the first excuse he could to embarrass the Black Prince. He found it in the discontent of the Gascons. Edward laid a very heavy tax upon them, and in his illness his temper had grown harsh. When Sir John Chandos tried to persuade him to alter the tax, he was so angry that Chandos had to resign his post and go to live on his little estate in Normandy. When the Gascon lords complained they were not listened to, and some of them went to Charles V. Hereupon the French

king summoned the Duke of Aquitaine to come to Paris 'to answer their complaints,' thus ignoring the Peace of Bretigny himself. 'We will willingly attend,' replied Edward, 'but it shall be with our helmet on our head, lance in rest, and 60,000 men in our company.' He was, however, too ill to sit on horseback, as Charles knew well enough, and at last he sent to beg his old friend Chandos to come back and lead the army for him. Chandos came at once, but so vain were some of the English lords that they actually refused to serve under him. The French attacked the province, and 900 towns and castles surrendered (1370).

The English seemed to be overcome by their enemies at once. They were, in fact, exhausted by the long war and the Black Death. Edward III. had lost his powers of command and his brave spirit. A French fleet visited the south coast and burned Portsmouth. Good Queen Philippa died in the midst of these troubles, and while her son was grieving for her he had to bear the loss of the faithful Chandos, who was slain in a skirmish. 'I have lost too much this year on both sides of the sea,' mourned the Prince. His own illness was the worst disaster to the nation, for his brothers had none of his genius and were jealous of him, so that when John of Gaunt came his rivalry did more harm than his troops did good.

A savage, bitter spirit took possession of the unhappy Edward, and when Limoges was treacherously surrendered to the French, he vowed to make the city pay dearly for its treason, and when he recaptured it he was carried through the town in his litter to watch the massacre of the inhabitants, of old men, women, and little children.

At last his increasing illness and grief for the death

of his eldest son made him return sadly to England, to retire with his wife and little son Richard to Berkhampstead. He was ruined in fortune, and as he lay slowly dying he heard how the Earl of Pembroke (who would not serve under Chandos) was defeated at sea, and all the money lost that was sent to Aquitaine; then how the brave Captal de Buch was taken and kept in prison; how Du Guesclin retook town after town, and at last he roused the failing spirit of Edward III., and had himself carried in a litter to the coast, vowing to die on the way rather than lose Aquitaine. But now contrary winds kept the fleet five weeks at sea in vain, and the old king gave up the attempt, crying: 'God is for the King of the French!' Gaunt led the last expedition (1373), a miserable failure, and everything of Edward's splendid conquests was lost save Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne.

The last four years of the Black Prince's life were made bitter by the sight of the base conduct of his brother John of Gaunt, who misgoverned the kingdom and seemed to aim at the crown for himself. When in 1376 the 'Good Parliament' made a stand against Gaunt's injustice, the dying prince entered the Parliament with his son Richard and supported the reforms of the members, who recognised Richard as heir to the crown. One of Gaunt's base favourites, the merchant Lyons, tried to bribe the Black Prince by sending him £1,000 in a barrel, but it was haughtily returned.

As he lay dying he allowed all his friends to come to see him, and gave gifts to his servants which he forbade his son ever to take from them on pain of his curse. A bishop who was with him exhorted him to ask pardon of God and of any whom he had injured, and at first he was too proud to do so, but at last 'he

joined his hands and prayed that God and man would grant him pardon, and so he died.'

He was buried by his own desire in Canterbury Cathedral, as if he were on his way to France, with his surcoat, helmet, shield, and mail gauntlets hung threateningly over his tomb.

OSTRICH FEATHER BADGE OF THE BLACK PRINCE.

JOHN WYCLIF, THE MORNING STAR OF THE REFORMATION.

(1320(?)—1384.)

JOHN WYCLIF, who is often called 'The Morning Star of the Reformation,' came, like several other reformers, from the dales of Yorkshire. Not far from Barnard Castle, beside the wooded banks of the Tees, lived the gentle family of Wyclif, and thence the scholarly John Wyclif went to Oxford to study.

He became a priest and a very learned man, the pride of his University. He held several dignified offices and was for a time Master of Balliol College. In those days it was the custom for public arguments to be held in Latin upon learned subjects, and as Oxford was the resort of many hundreds of students Wyclif's name soon became well known from these discussions, and from his writings and lectures. Soon after the Treaty of Bretigny the Pope demanded the payment of the tribute which King John had so long ago promised, but which had never been paid during the reign of Edward III. King and Parliament plainly refused, and Wyclif, as the most famous doctor in England, wrote a reply to the demand in Latin, like all his writings at this time, for that was the common language of all learned persons, lawyers and clergy, in Western Europe.

After 1363, however, Wyclif began to give up his

work in Oxford for the duties of a parish priest, and in 1374 became Rector of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, and he then realized the utter ignorance of the poorer classes, and the strange ideas which most had of the Christian religion.

In the fourteenth century the religion of the mass of the nation principally consisted in a superstitious belief in the power of ceremonies, while they knew nothing of the teaching of the Bible. Most supposed that the images in different churches were of quite different saints, and would make a pilgrimage to pray to Our Lady of Walsingham, as if she were a distinct personage from Our Lady of York, or of any other place.

Few could read, and the clergy, for the most part, took no pains to teach, so that the people had to be ignorant. This was chiefly the fault of the bishops, the monks, and the friars. Most *bishops* were busy in politics and took no notice of their dioceses except to draw great revenues from them; often they did not visit them for years together. The *monks*, who lived in their comfortable monasteries, or on the farms which belonged to them, had no proper concern with parish work at all; but as, unhappily, numbers of parish churches and their incomes had been given to the monasteries, they had to provide for the sevices. This they did either by visiting the churches from time to time, or by sending a 'vicar' to the place, who was allowed scarcely anything to live on, and had to farm or beg to make a living. In neither case did the people in the parish get any care or teaching. The *friars* had fallen away terribly from their early saintliness. They had now become merely greedy beggars, who preached amusing stories which they called sermons, to persuade people to give, and,

still worse, would hear confessions and absolve people from their sins on the payment of a little money. Chaucer's Friar (in the Prologue to the 'Canterbury Tales') declares that he knows that a man is penitent by his gifts:

> Therefore, instead of weeping and prayèrs
> Men must give silver to the pauvrè friars.

All thinking persons were shocked by the clergy's neglect of duty and greed of money. In the course of ages a large part of the best estates in England had been given to monasteries and bishoprics by lords and kings who supposed that they were doing a good thing. Yet the wealthy monks and bishops claimed to be free from the ordinary taxes and duties of laymen. Parliament drew attention to the evil; private gentlemen were anxious. One asked of a bishop what would happen if the clergy should get all the land of the country, and the bishop cheerfully replied that then the lords and knights 'should be the clerks' soldiers and live by their wages.'

Wyclif concluded that it was the wealth of the Church which made the clergy proud and idle, and he began to write and preach that the Government ought to take their riches for the use of lords and poor gentlemen, that there might be no need to tax the poor. He declared that the Pope ought not to give English livings to foreigners, who never came to do any work in them, and that the first duty of the clergy and bishops was to teach the truths of religion to the people. There were many among the ruling classes who shared Wyclif's opinions, and the Good Parliament of 1376 petitioned the king to forbid the sale of livings and the collection of such great sums of money for the

Pope; for, they said, five times as much as the king got from the taxes was tricked out of the people and sent to the Pope's court, where it was wasted or even used by the enemies of England. God had entrusted the care of His people, they said, to the Holy Father 'to be pastured and not to be shorn.'

At this time the most powerful man in England was John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. He had a bitter quarrel with some of the bishops who were at the head of the political party opposed to him, especially with Courtenay, Bishop of London, and William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, and founder of the famous public school there. John of Gaunt would have been glad to carry out some plan for taking the wealth of the Church, and Courtenay, partly to injure him and partly to prevent criticism of the Church, suddenly called on Wyclif to come to St. Paul's before Convocation, which was the Parliament of the clergy, to answer a number of accusations made against him.

The Duke of Lancaster regarded the trial (1377) as an insult to himself, and when Wyclif went to St. Paul's Lancaster and his principal supporter, Lord Percy, afterwards Earl of Northumberland, marched up the Cathedral with him, attended by a band of armed men. Percy cleared his way roughly, and the angry Bishop of London cried that, had he known, he would not have let him come to play the master in the church. Lancaster replied to him proudly, while Percy bade Wyclif seat himself and rest, since he would have many questions to answer.

This made the Bishop furious and a loud quarrel arose which very much excited the listeners, and when John of Gaunt was heard to say that, sooner than put up with insult, he would drag the Bishop from the

church by the hair of his head, the crowd of Londoners were wrought to fury. They set upon the Duke's retinue, tolled the city bells for aid, and gathered a mob which stormed Percy's house and would have put the two lords to death, had not the Bishop interfered to protect his enemies. Wyclif went quietly away.

The bishops next thought they had found an easier way of silencing Wyclif and his cry for reform by sending to complain to the Pope, and shortly after the accession of Richard II. orders came from Rome for a trial of this 'heretic.' Anyone who dared to disagree with the Pope and bishops, or to criticise anything in the church system, was sure in those times to be called a heretic, and to meet with severe punishment, and Wyclif must have known for some years what danger he and his followers were running. But though the University of Oxford had the courage to refuse to persecute him, he came bravely to London to be tried once more by Bishop Courtenay.

Wyclif made a favourable impression upon many who heard him. He was a tall, dignified man with a flowing beard, and his words and manner were serious and self-restrained. He earnestly hoped that the clergy might be persuaded to reform the Church, and he explained and defended his opinions clearly in a paper which he wished to be sent to the Pope. Courtenay was unable to harm him, because Richard's mother sent Clifford, one of her knights, to protect him, and the Londoners, who had so recently interfered to save Courtenay from the Duke of Lancaster, now expressed very strongly their agreement with Wyclif, so that the Bishop was obliged to let him go away free.

He had another seven years of busy work before him. At his home in Lutterworth he trained a number of

Poor Preachers whom he sent forth to bring the knowledge of the Gospel to the laity, and for their use he translated into English portions of the New Testament, that the preachers might have copies to

JOHN WYCLIF.

read and preach from which they and the people could understand. Gradually all the New Testament was put into English, and afterwards Wyclif's followers completed the whole Bible.

The scandals of the Papal quarrels, now that two Popes had been elected who fought with each other, and the cruelty and selfishness of the attempts made by the higher clergy to prevent any kind of religious reform, made Wyclif search for the grounds on which the Popes claimed to be masters and commanders of all Christians. He could not find any in the Scriptures or in the writings of the early Fathers of the Church, and he boldly declared that the Papal claims were false, and that the Pope and Cardinals ought to be disregarded by Englishmen. He also taught against some of the doctrines of the clergy, and appealed to men to study the Bible themselves and use their own reason in thinking of religion.

This cost him the friendship of John of Gaunt, who was solely a politician and wished Wyclif to teach only about the harm of the bishops' wealth; but Wyclif would pay no attention to the duke's worldly-wise advice, but preached and wrote busily in English and sent out more Poor Preachers. His sermons and tracts were usually simple—explanations of the Lord's Prayer or the Commandments, and sermons upon the Gospels and Epistles and chants. The preachers were listened to eagerly, especially by the middle-classes in the towns, and before the death of Richard II. we are told that in London and the South of England almost half the population was Wyclifite.

Wyclif's followers were given the nickname of *Lollards* by their enemies, a *lollcr* being a name for an idle beggar. Unfortunately, these men were not always content to preach only the Gospel teachings of their master, but tried to spread a knowledge of his more learned works, which they did not always properly understand themselves. In fact, some of Wyclif's

philosophy could only be understood by learned scholars, and the Lollards gave a wrong impression when they said that Wyclif had taught that bad rulers ought not to be obeyed, nor bad men allowed to have riches. This was not at all what Wyclif wrote, but as it was easy to understand and a rather pleasant doctrine to many poor people it was readily believed, and thus in the fifteenth century Lollards were looked upon as men who wanted to make a revolution, and so they became unpopular.

Henry IV. sanctioned a law to have them burned to death; their books, especially copies of the English Bible, were sought for and destroyed, and people were punished for having or reading one. Nevertheless the Lollards were never stamped out, but continued to teach secretly and hand on some of the doctrines of Wyclif till the Reformation of Henry the Eighth's time, which was itself largely the result of his work. Through Queen Anne of Bohemia, the wife of Richard II., Wyclif's works found their way to the University of Prague. These books convinced John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, and it was the works of Huss which first convinced Martin Luther; as a book of that later time expressed it, Wyclif struck the spark, Huss lighted the coal, and Luther waved on high the torch. Wyclif is rightly named the *Morning Star of the Reformation*.

Wyclif died peacefully at Lutterworth at the end of the year 1384, but some years after his death a mean revenge was done upon his bones. They were taken from the tomb and burned to ashes, and the ashes flung into the brook which runs past Lutterworth. 'Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, these into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wyclif are the

Here begynnyp pe prologe in pe boke of ... of wiclam.

Guilelmum alienus etymes vocabulum est: vnderstonde + pat dirunge pe name lundely pe latyn greeke speche. This boke pe wyse affermep to be of philon pat pere for wiclam is nempd ffor in pe almyng of crist pat is pe wisdom of pe fad + pe pat spoun: diligently is expounded.

Knowe ze vnderstondynge pat trupe pe crp. ffeipp of pe lord is godde + vnsyple nesse of hert se dyp hi. ffor he is founden of hem pat tempten hi not: he apereip hymself to hem pat trowep han in to hi. Schrewid counsel departip fro god. pruyed counsel pat pinkep chastly vnsiker men. ffor pat pat wil loute schal not gon in wiclam: pe schal dwellen in a bodie lyuynge to synnes. An holi spirit forsop schal fleen pe bernde of disciplyne + schal taken hymself a weie pat pou pat ben with out vnderstondynge + pe schal ben chastised for pe vnrighte vnclennesse. Beginnynge is pe wynne of wiclam + pe schal not bryde pe mynde to his lustis ffor of pe vnwisdom of him wiclam is god + of pe herte of hym is pe bri[gh]tnesse + of pe tunge of hi[m] pere ffor pe spirit of pe lord fulfillip pe worldnesse of londis + pat pat vnderstondip alle pingis wityngly hap of pouse for pat pe pat speking wicke pingis may not lurken. pe chastisyng come schal bi side passen hi[m] pe pouste forsop of pe vnpunyd asking schal ben. Of pe ceremonies forsop of hi[m] pe vnryng to god schal ben mad + to pe vnderstondyng of pe wickednesse of him. ffor pe eir of pe gylous herep alle pingis + pe noise of grucchyng[is] schal not ben hid. Kepe + pan zou pe gladnesse pat no pingis pleyn + pe barbarous spirit to pe tunge: for a pern sermoun in vein schal not gon. The mouth forsop pat lesip sleep pe soule. Wilfp not loue pe in vayn of zoure lyfe pat ze pursuen not in pe errours of zoure lyuynge: for god wold not dep pe gladnesse not in pe lesynge of men a lyue. ffor forsop god made pat alle pingis weren + able to help pe maner pe nacyons of pe worldnesse of londis. ffor forsop pere is not in hem pe lesynge of deep[is] pe pesynge of helpes in pe erp. ffor pe rightwisnesse forsop is perpetuel and vndeedly: vnrightwisnesse forsop pe chaungynge of dep. Chapitre ffyue

Forsop vnpitous men fedden pinkynge amysse hemself not rist trupe + wisnesse is pe tyme of our lyf. There is not reste in pe ende of a man: + pe is not pat be knowen turned a zein to helle. ffor of nozt we ben borne + after pe pingis we schul ben as pos we had ben not born. ffor smoke + blast is in oure nese pullus + sermoun of a spirke to stire to gydur oure hert. ffor quenchid ashen schal be oure bodie + pe spirit schal ben held a tyde as soft eyre. And oure lyf schal passen as pe trop of a cloude + as a tol cloude ben vnlyke pat is driuen of pe beemes of pe sunne + of pe hete of pe grounde. And oure name forgetynge schal taken bi tyme + no man schal haue mynde of oure werkes. ffor forsop passynge of schadewe is of oure tyme + pe

emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over.'*

From Wyclif's New Testament.

St. Matt. ix. 16 (*old spelling*)

'And no man puttith a cloute of boistous clooth in to an oold clothing, for it doith awei the fulnes of the clothe, and a worse brekynge is made; nether men putte newe wyne in to olde botels, els the botels ben to brokun & destried, and the wyne schedde out, but men putten newe wyne in to newe botels: and bothe ben kepte.'

* Fuller.

HENRY V. OF MONMOUTH.

(1387—1422.)

In his short reign of nine years Henry V. gained greater military glory than any other English king. Not only in his own country, but in Europe, he was regarded as a kind of miracle of courage, skill, and success, and under him England rose suddenly to a brilliant position among the other and larger countries.

In later, gloomier times the English looked back to

him with so much affection and wonder that they began to tell strange stories about him which made his greatness seem even more marvellous than it was. They said that before he was king he never studied war or government or anything useful, but loved to play all manner of wild pranks, feasting in taverns, waylaying travellers to frighten them, and even breaking the laws sometimes in his love of fun. Once, says the most famous of these tales, the Chief Justice imprisoned one of the prince's friends, and he became so angry that he not only spoke insultingly, but actually struck the Chief Justice. The judges represent the king himself, so that striking them is almost as bad a crime as high treason. The Chief Justice was determined to maintain the dignity of law, and he ordered that the Prince of Wales himself should be taken to prison for a time. Then Prince Hal, really sorry for his folly, submitted and bore his punishment. And when the news came to the ears of Henry IV., who might have been angry that his son should be dealt with like a common person, he blessed Heaven for giving him so upright a judge and so obedient a son.

In truth, however, Henry V., when he was young, was just the opposite of what these stories say. He was busied in warfare and politics from early boyhood. First with Richard II., in Ireland; then against the rebellious Percies, and for many years on the borders of Wales, he practised war among different enemies and under all kinds of difficulties.

In person he was handsome, tall, and very active. He was so swift of foot that he could run down a buck, and so strong that he could capture it without a weapon. He knew something, too, of books and music, and could play upon the harp. Richard II. had been

fond of him and had dubbed him a knight while still a boy. Indeed, but for Richard's generosity Henry would have been in danger when his father raised the rebellion. Richard, then in Ireland, bade him consider what evil his father was doing, adding: 'I grieve for thee, for this mischance may cost thee thine inheritance.' The boy replied that he was much distressed by the tidings, 'but you see that I am innocent of what my father has done.' 'I know it, and I hold thee guiltless,' said Richard; and he refused to use the boy as a hostage for his father's actions, so that he escaped harm.

When Henry of Bolingbroke had taken Richard prisoner, he of course sent to Ireland for his son, and met him at Chester, so that the young prince made one of the procession to London, where, directly after his father's coronation, he was made Earl of Chester, Duke of Cornwall, and Prince of Wales.

Though he seems to have spent some months in study at Oxford University, he was barely fourteen when his father sent him to Wales to face Glendower's revolt (1401); and from that time Prince Henry took an active part in the government of the country, both in the Council and in war, when his dauntless courage, especially at the Battle of Shrewsbury, won him a great reputation. Thus, when at the age of twenty-six Henry V. mounted the throne he had gained considerable experience, and was already popular, both for his courage and his kindly nature. One of his first acts was 'for the great and tender love he bare to King Richard,' to inter his bones honourably in Westminster Abbey by those of Queen Anne, and to do what he could, according to the ideas of those times, to atone for the murder which had given the crown

to the House of Lancaster, by endowing almshouses and

> 'Chantries where the sad and solemn priests
> Sing still for Richard's soul.'

Then he recalled the banished heir of the house of Percy, Hotspur's son, and restored his inheritance to him, and set free the young Earl of March, head of the house of Mortimer, whom Henry IV. had kept in the Tower from fear but who now became the loyal friend of Henry V. Neither did he forget humbler people: his old nurse was yet living in Monmouth, and he ordered a liberal pension to be given her.

He paid great attention to all the needs of government, and called a Parliament, for, like his father, he was always confident in the support of the two Houses. Then, when the country appeared quietly settled, he turned to consider the plan of an invasion of France, which had already been discussed in the later years of Henry IV.

There were several reasons, besides a young king's natural wish for conquest and glory, which might determine Henry V. to attack France once more. As King of England he considered that he inherited all the rights of Edward III. The war would be very popular, not only among the nobles and their retainers, who hoped to get both fame and plunder, but also among the merchant classes, who thought that the conquest of France, or even Gascony, would increase their trade enormously. A successful war would make the people more loyal to the new line of Lancaster, while the quarrelsome nobility would be too well occupied to find scope for rebellion. Even of France itself Henry might reasonably think that, as she could hardly be in a worse condition, she might well become

happier under the orderly rule of an English conqueror.

He spent the year 1414 in negotiating with the French, offering to allow Charles VI. to keep half of his kingdom if he would give up all the territories from Normandy to Aquitaine which English kings had ever claimed, together with the hand of his daughter Katharine. The French princes, though they offered a great deal, could scarcely let Henry annex the half of France, and he, resolved to win his rights, as he thought them, prepared the most complete army ever seen in England. Not only was each division of the army supplied with its own stores of food and fresh weapons, and provided with carpenters and smiths, but surgeons and medicines were taken, a thing unheard of. Every soldier was paid on a regular scale, from the duke who had 13s. 6d. a day, and served with fifty horse, to the archer who had 6d. and only his one horse.

Short as the time was between Henry's accession and the invasion of France he was threatened by two plots: the first, a Lollard conspiracy planned by Sir John Oldcastle, was easily suppressed; the other was very different in nature.

The Earl of March, the true heir of Richard II., had no children, and the Lady Anne Mortimer, his sister, who would be the next heir, had married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, grandson of Edward III. If the Mortimers had had their rights, Cambridge's son, or even possibly his wife, would have sat on the throne of England, and the earl resolved to alter the succession by murdering Henry V. and putting March on the throne. He did not, however, arrange the plot with March, but only with a Northumberland knight, named

Grey, and Lord Scrope, from whom, as he had long been a close friend, Henry could never have suspected danger; he was, however, a kinsman of the Scropes who had been Richard's friends and were executed by Henry IV. The conspirators meant to murder the king as he was embarking at Southampton, but their plot was discovered, the three assassins were judged, and put to death. And so steady was Henry's courage that he would not put off embarking at once, nor show any suspicion either of March, or of Cambridge's brother, the Duke of York, who continued to hold his high command in the army, and at last died bravely at Agincourt.

It took three days for the fleet to sail from Southampton to Harfleur, the chief port of Normandy. Guns, battering-rams, catapults which flung stones as big as millstones, and other machines, had been brought on purpose for the siege, but though walls and houses were crushed by the missiles the brave garrison held out for a whole month. Then, as the rulers of France did not even attempt to succour them, they surrendered.

Henry sat on a little hill in royal state surrounded by his nobles; his helmet, with the crown round it, hung on the point of a spear held by a champion at his side; while the Governor and the citizens climbed up to lay the keys at his feet. The king's first thought was to give thanks for the victory, and he walked barefooted and bareheaded to the principal church, for he was honestly convinced that France was rightfully his and that God showed approval by blessing his arms. Then he arranged what was always with him the next matter of importance—the military position. The whole of the garrison and inhabitants, though granted their lives, were driven lamenting out of the town with only a few pence apiece, and the place, with all its wealth, was

TOWER ON WHEELS.

handed over to an English garrison, to be, like Calais, an open gate into France.

It was by this time the close of September and the army was sorely reduced by hardship and disease, but Henry would hear no word of returning home. He felt that the capture of one seaport was not enough to terrify the French or to give confidence to his own people, so he declared that he would 'ride through France like his ancestors,' and set out for Calais, whence he could return to Dover. The march was most dangerous, for the stores were exhausted and it was difficult to get enough from the unfriendly people without more fighting than Henry could spare time or men for. But he kept strict order. Every soldier had been given his share of the plunder of Harfleur, which had been shipped to England, and now none might plunder for himself. One soldier who took a vessel from a church was at once hanged, for Henry always carried out any order, threat, or promise, that he had once spoken. Thus the army pushed on to the Somme, to cross where Edward III. had done.

The French, however, naturally remembered Cressy too, and defended Blanche Tache and the other fords, so that Henry had to turn and march for more than a week up the river before he could get his troops across. The delay enabled the French army from Paris to get between Henry and Calais, so that a battle must be fought; and as the little English force numbered scarcely one-fifth of the French, and was worn with toil and scanty food, the odds seemed impossible. Henry marched on steadily; he once passed the lodging prepared for him, but he would not go back to it, because he was in his war coat and it would displease God. Not that he was foolhardy; the French

Constable sent three heralds to challenge him to name a day and a place for a pitched battle. He replied that there was no reason to fix either, since he might be found every day in the open fields, not hiding behind defences.

Before he reached the castle of Agincourt the huge French army blocked the way. It lay in three divisions, one behind the other, between two woods and right across the open space of field and corn where troops could move, so as to compel the English to assault a vastly larger mass of armour-clad men. Now Henry had prepared for defence. He had five times as many archers as men-at-arms, and every archer carried a pointed wooden stake to fix in the ground before him if cavalry attempted to charge; but archers could not charge themselves. Henry knew that he must tempt the French to attack him, then they could not all fight at once, because the open space was narrow and so thick in mud that it was hard to traverse at all.

When the morning of St. Crispin's Day (October 25, 1415) broke no greater contrast could be imagined than that presented by the two armies: the French dazzling with bright steel, and the heraldic bearings of surcoats and banners; the English so travel-stained that the archers in front looked like a crowd of gipsies, many barefoot and hatless, with tattered, dirty jacks (or leather coats), nothing in trim but their bows and shafts. Only the king was conspicuous in a surcoat covered with the arms of England and France, and a helmet encircled by a golden crown. He rode along the front of his army on a small gray horse before dismounting to fight on foot like the bulk of his troops, and told the archers how the French had boasted that they would cut off the right-hand fingers of every bow-

man. They replied with a shout of loyalty, and then old Sir Thomas Erpingham, the king's officer, flung his truncheon into the air, and cried, 'Now strike!'

The English, as bidden, took a few steps forward and halted, and the French, thinking their chivalry insulted if this handful of beggars charged them, disregarded the plans of the Constable and hurried to advance. Those on foot sank at once knee-deep in the wet clay, and the mounted knights struggling painfully on towards the archers' stakes made targets for such a storm of clothyard shafts as pierced helmet and armour and covered the ground with a struggling mass of dead and wounded, so that the archers soon stood in safety behind a hedge of dead enemies. Most of the survivors turned and fled, breaking into their own second line, which then in its turn was riddled with arrows. When Henry thought the gaps in this line sufficient he ordered an advance. The archers left their stand, and all forced their way over and into the heaps of French, stabbing and hewing at the almost helpless throng till every man of rank was slain or taken. The Duke of Alençon made one desperate effort to retrieve the day. Seeing that all depended on the personal orders of Henry, he flung himself into the fight so furiously that, with his picked band, he reached the group round the king and the royal standard. The Duke of York was killed, Henry's youngest brother, Gloucester, severely wounded, and Henry, in trying to defend him, was himself struck to his knee by a blow that dinted his helmet. But Alençon was surrounded, and the royal guard slew him just as he would have surrendered.

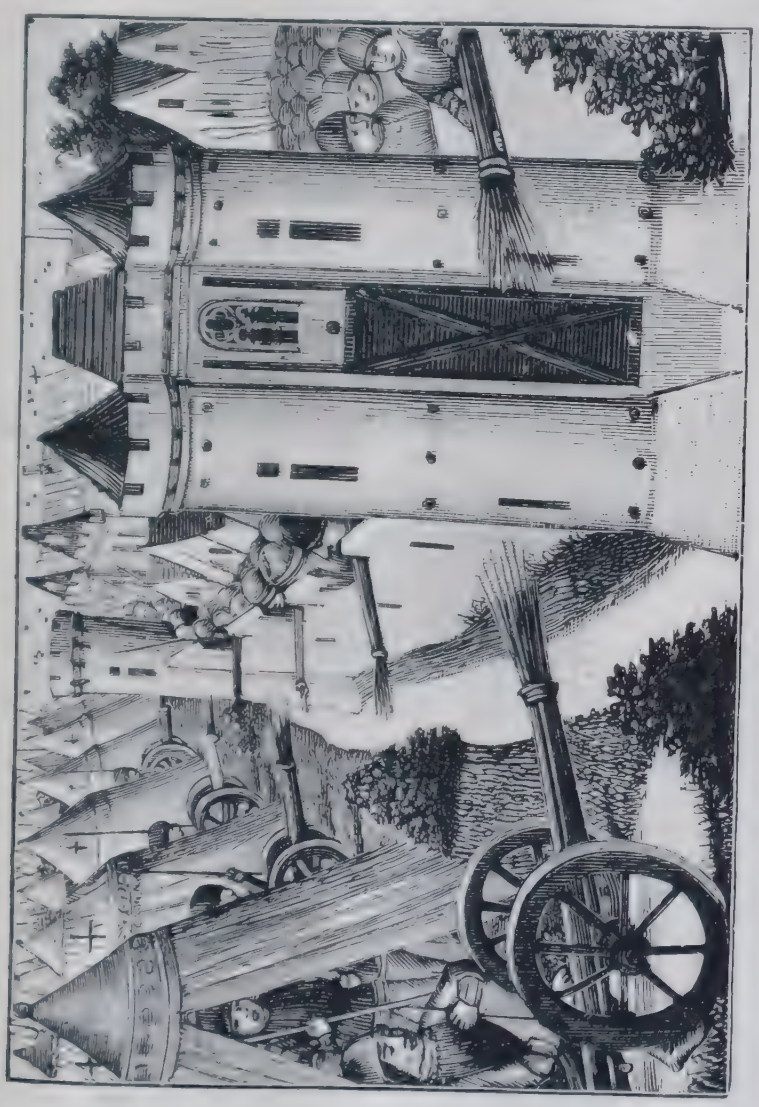
A marvellous victory was within Henry's grasp when all was imperilled, as it seemed, by an attack on the rear. The king was told that the French had

plundered his camp, and killed all the servants and guards. Henry knew that his crowd of prisoners far outnumbered his troops, and, fearing they might turn upon him, commanded them to be put to death in cold blood. This was against the rules of chivalry, and the English knights, who looked to get great ransoms for their captives, actually refused to obey. Henry, however, was resolved, and sent a band of archers to slaughter them so that many were massacred before the king found that his camp had only been attacked by peasants, who were already beaten off. Before leaving the battlefield Henry had a solemn service of thanksgiving performed. It was not his own skill, he told his French prisoners, which won him this startling victory, but the arm of God, because he was fighting for his right and the French nobles had stained their land with horrible crimes, which last, indeed, was but too true. Then the king led his men on to Calais, entered it at their head in joyful state, and after a few days' rest sailed to England. The Frenchmen thought his cheerful calmness on board amid the horrors of the sea quite as wonderful as his courage against such odds at Agincourt.

The journey from Dover beach to London was one long procession through wild rejoicings; the houses of London were draped with banners and tapestry, the fountains ran wine, and choirs of children sang the king's praises as he rode by. But he was so modest that he would not let his dinted helmet be shown, but bade the glory be rendered to Heaven alone, and that solemn masses be said for the souls of the slain, French as well as English.

Henry knew that he had really only begun the war, and he prepared to invade France again before she had

recovered from the terror of Agincourt. But he never moved until he was ready, and then struck swiftly, so he spent a year and a half in collecting money and equipping men and ships with the same attention to



THE SIEGE OF ROUEN.

the details as before, and thus it was not till the summer of 1417 that he appeared in France. He knew that he was not likely to have another pitched battle, but he determined to subdue the land piecemeal until the

government should surrender, and he began with the cities of Normandy, of which he claimed to be duke.

Strongly fortified as they were, Henry knew how to combine the work of mines, cannon, and battering-engines so as to break down the walls rapidly. He took Caen with very little loss of his own men, and his rapid success and the mercy he showed to the citizens, caused many other places to yield to him at once.

Rouen, however, resisted stoutly, and Henry blockaded it so strictly that he would not let the peaceful inhabitants, whom the governor had turned out, pass through his own lines but cooped them up between the camp and the city, slowly to starve to death. This was not from cruelty, but as a military precaution, for if only the fighting men stayed in Rouen it would of course hold out much longer. The garrison had at last devoured even the cats and rats and had to surrender, expecting severe treatment. But Henry put no one to death except one captain, who had been very cruel to prisoners, and, as duke, bestowed such good laws and justice upon the Normans as they had never known before. They grew prosperous, and actually became so much attached to their new duke that years after his death (in 1435) they solemnly declared that Normandy was not French but English.

In the same year that he conquered Normandy (1419), the Duke of Burgundy, furious at his father's murder, joined Henry against the French court, which, indeed, could make very little further resistance, for the unnatural queen, Isabel, had deserted the cause of her son, the cowardly Dauphin, who fled beyond the Loire, and the imbecile king was helpless. Burgundy was anxious for peace, and with his help the Treaty of Troyes (1420) was at last arranged.

Henry was to wed the Princess Katharine, and, though he left the title of king to Charles VI., he was to be regent over all France, and king upon Charles' death. The marriage took place at once, 'with such magnificence,' grumbles a French chronicler, 'as if he were at that time king of all the world'; and then Henry kept a splendid Christmas in Paris, attended by the kings of France and Scotland, and Duke Philip of Burgundy. Henry established order in the capital, provided a fitting household for old King Charles, who had probably never led so peaceful a life before and became much attached to his son-in-law; and although some of the northern towns had to be besieged before they would submit, and the dauphin still was independent, King Henry could feel that he had achieved the greater part of his task when, early in 1421, he left his new kingdom in the care of his brother Clarence and returned to rejoicing England.

Clarence was slain at Beaugé (1421) by the Scottish allies of France, and Henry had to return to the field of war again. He won a series of successes, but just after the capture of Meaux he fell very ill—too ill to ride his war-horse, and had to be carried in a litter to quiet Vincennes. He knew that he lay on his deathbed, and his last hours were the sadder, it is said, because he heard that his infant son was born at Windsor, for he remembered a prophecy that 'Henry born at Monmouth should short time live and much win; Henry born at Windsor should long live and lose all.' However, he arranged for the government and the war very carefully, and bade his brothers cherish the friendship of Burgundy, and keep Orleans a prisoner until his little son should be a man. Then, joining till his last breath in

the prayers of the priests, he died, not yet thirty-six years old, on August 31, 1422.

Few kings ever won so much admiration and affection. 'He was so feared that none dared to disobey his orders.' His people trusted him so completely that they furnished him with armies and sums of money 'so vast they could scarcely be counted.' Even his foes revered his justice and nobleness, and as the funeral procession drew slowly through the towns of northern France almost religious reverence was paid to it. The arms of England, France, and of King Arthur—the only other king never defeated—preceded the coffin, on which lay Henry's effigy, with crown and sceptre; over it was held a canopy of vermilion and gold, and close behind came the young King of Scots, whom Henry had at last ordered to be set free, as chief mourner, leading the band of grieving princes.

Prince Henry and his Father, Henry IV.

(From Monstrelet's Chronicle.)

Henry of Lancaster, King of England, . . . was so sorely oppressed at the latter end of his sickness that those who attended him, not perceiving him breathe, concluded he was dead, and covered his face with a cloth. It was the custom in that country, whenever the king was ill, to place the royal crown on a cushion beside his bed, and for his successor to take it on his death. The Prince of Wales, being informed by the attendants that his father was dead, had carried away the crown; but, shortly after, the king uttered a groan, and his face was uncovered,—when, on looking for the crown, he asked what was become of it? His attendants replied, that 'my lord the prince had taken it

away.' He bade them send for the prince; and on his entrance, the king asked him why he had carried away the crown? 'My lord,' answered the prince, 'your attendants, here present, affirmed to me that you were dead, and as your crown and kingdom belong to me as your eldest son, after your decease, I had taken it away.' The king gave a deep sigh, and said, 'My fair son, what right have you to it? for you well know I had none.' 'My lord,' replied the prince, 'as you have held it by right of your sword, it is my intent to hold and defend it the same during my life.' The king answered, 'Well, act as you see best: I leave all things to God, and pray that He would have mercy on me!' Shortly after, without uttering another word, he departed this life.

SANDAL CASTLE, NEAR WAKEFIELD.

RICHARD NEVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK, THE 'KING-MAKER.'

(1428—1471.)

THE story of the famous Earl of Warwick, the 'King-maker,' begins with a family history. Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, was in the reign of Henry IV. the chief of a great family who rivalled the Percies in Yorkshire and Durham both in power and pride. He was the father of twenty-two children, and as he was ambitious and covetous he used the royal favour to help him to marry his children to rich heirs and heiresses. Soon he saw five of his younger sons peers and another a bishop, while eight daughters were married to noble lords—the youngest, 'proud Cis Neville, the Rose of Raby,' to no less a person than Richard, Duke of York. After her the most fortunate of the twenty-two was Richard, who married the heiress of that Earl of Salisbury who was killed at Orleans, and so became earl himself, and lord of several strong castles in the South as well as his father's palace at Middleham in Yorkshire.

Salisbury's son Richard had a still more splendid fortune than his father, for his wife, daughter of the stout Earl of Warwick, brought him the inheritance and title of that great earldom before he was of age. His possessions were then vast. He held miles of rich estates in the Midlands, in Wales, and along the Severn, and manors and castles scattered all over the South of England. His fortresses were more numerous than those of any other peer and his retainers beyond counting. When he travelled his escort was often

some five hundred armed men, all wearing red coats with the earl's famous silver badge of a bear with a ragged staff. 'And when he came to London he held such an house that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast. Every tavern was full of his meat, for who that had any acquaintance in that house, he should have as much sod and roast as he might carry upon a long dagger.'

BEAR AND RAGGED STAFF.

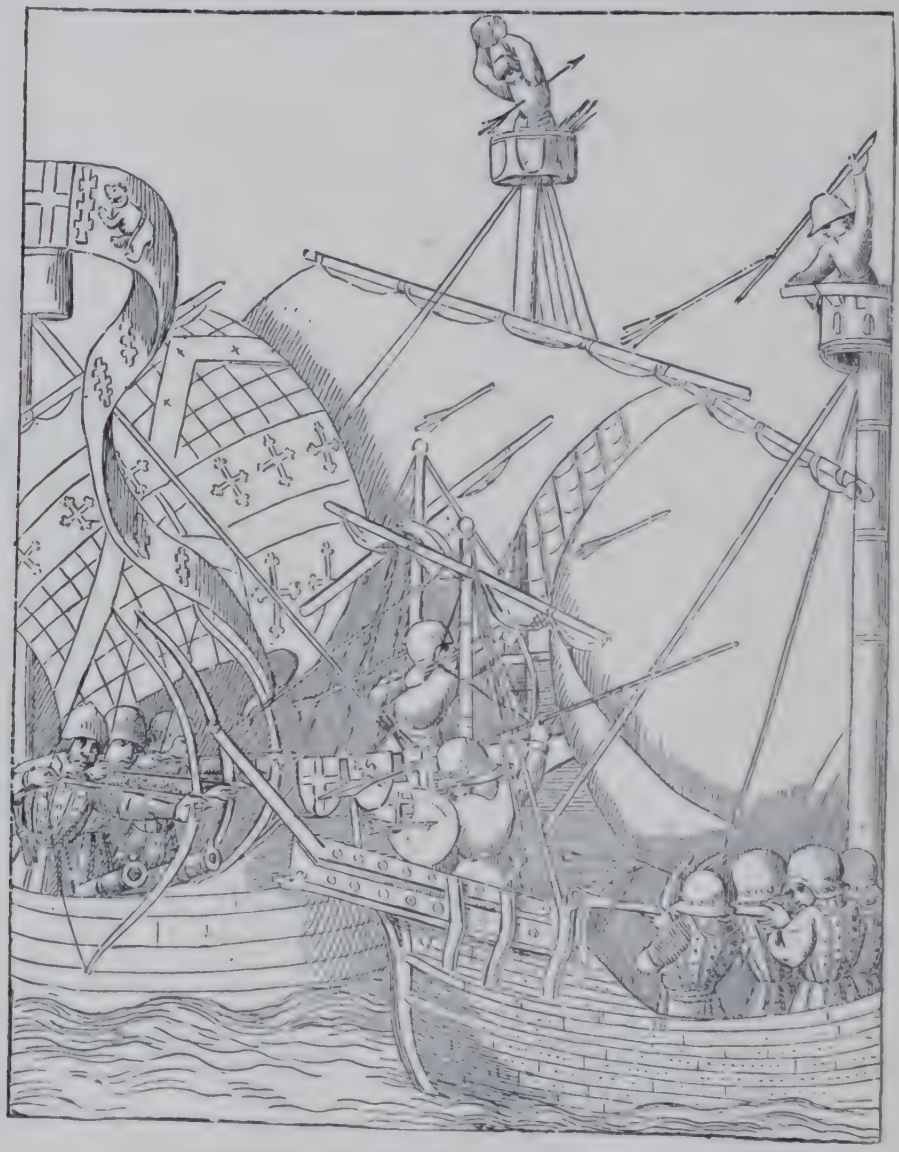
The young Earl of Warwick, who thus dazzled all the South of England by his magnificence, was an active, capable man, ambitious to direct the fortunes of the country, and quite certain that he knew how to do so. Unlike most of the nobility of that time he was no mere soldier, insolent to peaceful folk. His 'witty and gentle demeanour towards all manner of persons' caused him to grow into such favour among the common people that they judged him able to do all things. 'Which way he bowed, that way ran the stream, and what part he took, that side got the game.' No patriotic English noble could see without shame the disgrace brought upon the nation by the mismanagement of Suffolk and Somerset. Even if family friendship had not drawn him to the party of Richard, Duke of York, right feeling must have done so. Warwick accordingly stood by his uncle York and his father Salisbury when they made their sudden attack on the king's unpopular ministers at St. Albans, and the success of the fight was mainly due to his finding a way into the town through the back-yards of the houses.

After the battle York recognised the importance of the young earl by making him Captain of Calais, an

office extremely important now that Calais was our only stronghold in France; and here, and as admiral of the one English fleet, he gained both distinction as a commander and much gratitude from the merchants of the seaports; for he not only repulsed the French again and again before the gates of Calais, but cleared the straits of pirates, and once captured a whole Spanish fleet, the profits whereof enriched both his own soldiers and the English merchants. The Londoners and the sturdy Commons of Kent, who all hated Somerset, almost worshipped Warwick, so that 'they judged that the very sun was taken from the world when he was absent.' His troops, too, became devoted to him. Few of Warwick's captains ever played him false, a thing which, in those days of bribery and treachery, speaks volumes for the esteem he was held in.

When, in 1459, Richard of York summoned his friends to join him at Ludlow, Warwick, of course, came to him from Calais, and in the flight which followed Salisbury and the young Edward of March, York's eldest son, owed their lives to Warwick's practical knowledge of the sea. The three were aiming at Calais, so they hired four mariners to take them. After they had set sail the earl asked the mariners if they knew the way, to which they replied that they did not, for they had never sailed thither before. The noble company was much dismayed, but the Earl of Warwick said to cheer them 'that, so please God and my lord St. George, he would bring them to a haven of safety. And, in fact, he stripped to his doublet and went to the helm; then he had the sail hoisted, upon which the wind blew so' that they reached first Guernsey and then Calais.

Queen Margaret was well aware of the value of Calais to her enemies, and despatched the young Duke of Somerset to secure it. On the very evening of



A SEA-FIGHT (WARWICK'S BADGE ON PENNON).

Warwick's return the duke's messenger appeared at the port to announce his master's arrival next day. The guard listened to him solemnly, and then replied

that 'they would give the news to the Earl of Warwick, who was their sole and only captain, and he should have the earl's answer in a few minutes.' The discomfited Somerset dared not attack Warwick, and could only betake himself to the little town of Guines, and keep up a petty warfare from there. In these skirmishes victory was usually with Warwick. He took a good many prisoners, and put to death some few who had once sworn oaths of faithfulness to himself, but dismissed the rest of the common soldiers to their homes, and even won over some of the noble commanders to desert the cause of Somerset and adopt that of York.

Warwick was, indeed, much the most active of the Yorkist leaders. He liked to strike first, and on hearing that Margaret was fitting out a fleet at Sandwich which was to drive him from Calais, he determined to seize it for himself. He despatched two of his trustiest knights in merchant-ships, with freights of soldiers, all carefully hidden. The good folk of Sandwich asked no inconvenient questions; the soldiers quietly marched into the middle of the town, and there one of the knights kept guard while the other arranged for the despatch of the ships with friendly crews. The Lancastrian commander himself was caught asleep in his bed, and was hardly awake before he found himself a prisoner, on the way to Calais. This success and the knowledge of the general indignation at Margaret's rule, together with a request from the Commons of Kent that he would come and protect them from the greed of the courtiers, determined Warwick on another attempt to win by force the control of the kingdom for his uncle.

First he went to Ireland to see Richard of York and

arrange plans, and was a good or a lucky sailor enough to get there and back in a little less than a month. But the queen ordered the Duke of Exeter to take the fleet to catch him on the way back, and their numbers were overwhelming. However, just as the two parties came in sight of each other Exeter's sailors learned whom they were to attack, and, flatly refusing to obey orders, turned the fleet about and took it back to harbour, so leaving Warwick's way to Calais clear. His invasion of England (1460) was as rapid as a triumphal procession. First he sent a proclamation, supposed to be York's, to explain the loyalty of the three lords (York, Salisbury, and Warwick) to their sovereign, and their determination to remove his bad ministers and punish those who had 'sold' Normandy and Guienne. Then, with his father and Edward, the young Earl of March, Warwick crossed to friendly Sandwich. Here the archbishop met and blessed him, and George Neville, his brother, who was bishop of Exeter, brought a gallant band of soldiers; popular songs fired the enthusiasm of the Kentishmen, and a great army gathered round him. At the news of his coming the Londoners rose, drove the Lancastrian lords into the Tower and besieged them there, while the aldermen joyfully welcomed the invaders. Even the Papal Legate bestowed his blessing upon them; Warwick had entertained him at Calais, and convinced him of the justice of York's claim to be minister.

The earl would not wait in London, though there was no sign of York's coming from Ireland. He hurried after the king and queen, and found them entrenched at Northampton. Here he and Edward of March assaulted the city, and won a victory after only half an hour's fighting, owing to the treachery of a Lancastrian lord. This battle, like that of St. Albans

before, was remarkable for Warwick's order that none of the common men should be pursued, but that lords and knights should meet with no mercy. This policy of slaying the nobles themselves and not putting them to ransom began a reaction against the attention paid to rank by the chivalry of the Hundred Years' War. As the greed and violence of the nobles brought about these civil wars it was but fair that they should pay the penalty. Warwick guessed that if the leaders were dead the mass of the people would be glad of peace and ready to support York. After the battle Henry VI. was a prisoner in the hands of Warwick, who took him back to Westminster, and then, without waiting for the Duke of York, began to settle the government, and made the king sign whatever he desired. The chief offices were given to the Neville family, though Warwick took none himself, content to be still Captain of Calais, and he used the month of quiet which followed his success characteristically. First, he hastened to see that all was well at Calais, and generously did no ill to Somerset, who was completely in his power, but made a kind of treaty with him; then he went with his wife to express his gratitude to Heaven in the manner then usual, by a pilgrimage to the shrine of Walsingham; last of all, he visited his splendid home at Warwick and received the lords and gentry, who flocked round him to bless his coming and beg his protection against the rapacious partisans of the queen, who had herself taken refuge in Wales.

At last the Duke of York arrived from Ireland and proceeded to London with royal state. He startled everyone by forcibly taking possession of the king's apartments at Westminster, breaking the bolts and locks to do so, and by entering the hall where the

peers were assembling for Parliament as if he were no peer, but king. He stepped to the throne and laid his hand upon it as if to take possession of his right, and refused to go to see the king because there was no one in the realm, he said, who ought not rather to come to wait upon him.

None of the lords approved of York's attempt to snatch the crown from Henry, not even Warwick, and it was partly by his earnest endeavours that the compromise was made which named York only protector for the present, but heir to the crown when Henry should die.

Warwick, of course, knew that the sword must decide between the two parties, but he was less of a soldier than a statesman and stayed in the south while York hurried after the Lancastrian nobles to Yorkshire. Then came the Battle of Wakefield, the death of York, and the invasion of the south by Margaret's fierce northern army.

The Yorkist cause now depended entirely on Warwick. York's heir, Edward of March, was barely twenty; the queen was overwhelmingly strong; Warwick must either rally the Yorkist party by giving them a new hope, or give up the cause and submit.

He showed no hesitation. The archbishop, the Duke of Norfolk, the Londoners, and the Kentish men stood by him. Quickly he gathered troops, cannon, and foreign 'gun-men,' and marched from London to meet Margaret's army, taking King Henry with him. Possibly he desired to govern in the name of Henry, and hoped to make the approaching Northerners appear like rebels. But the second Battle of St. Albans (1461) proved the earl no good general, for though he fortified his front carefully with solid wooden

fences, and traps and nets to hinder cavalry, he allowed the enemy to turn his flank and attack him from behind. Neither could he control his troops, some of which were too far off to understand his orders. The northern men fought furiously, till at last the men of Kent, crying out, 'Treachery!' fled in a panic, and the whole army broke in disorder. Even then Warwick's rapid thought devised a way to safety. He knew that the young Earl of March was in the west gathering forces in the old Mortimer lands, and he hurried away to join him with such troops as he could rally.

Two things now turned the scales of fortune: Edward had won a victory in the west at Mortimer's Cross, and was coming with his victorious army to London, and Margaret's troops, not allowed to enter the capital, waited idly for more than a week till Edward and Warwick reached it. They were hailed with the utmost joy, and when Warwick's brother George, the bishop, made a speech to explain Edward's claim to the throne, the citizens shouted 'King Edward!' with wild enthusiasm, and the peers and bishops of the Neville connection hastily crowned him as Edward IV.

Thus Warwick, who had refused to make the father king, set the young son on the throne. He knew that the queen, who had beaten him at St. Albans, would never let him rule as Henry's minister, and he doubtless supposed that the inexperienced Edward, a lad of twenty, would be easily influenced, especially as he had been in the earl's care for two years, and was bound by friendship as well as gratitude to the man who had made him king. The good of the country was fast becoming a less important matter in Warwick's mind than his own power and safety.

The moment that the hasty coronation was over the

new king and Warwick pursued after the Lancastrians along the great north road. They caught them up at Ferrybridge in Yorkshire, where a struggle took place for the bridge over the Aire, and the story is that Warwick, to prove his zeal to his men, who were foot-soldiers, slew his horse with his sword, saying: 'Let him flee that will, for surely I will tarry with him that will tarry with me.' In the end the Yorkists won Ferrybridge, and marched on till they found the enemy barring their road to York upon the moors of Towton.

Here took place a murderous battle (March, 1461). Warwick led the main body, but his uncle Falconbridge, a knight very small in stature but extremely brave and skilful, commanded the wing nearest to the enemy. It was a very cold morning, and just as this wing came in sight of their foes a sudden snow-storm came on which beat upon the faces of the Lancastrians. Falconbridge's archers at once sent a shower of arrows to drive with the wind and sleet, and then kept out of range while the half-blinded Lancastrians wasted nearly all their shafts on the empty moor, for the Yorkist archers to pick up afterwards and shoot back again. The Lancastrians were desperate and the fight became a hand-to-hand combat, Warwick's difficult task being to keep his men steady till the reserve under his cousin Norfolk came up. By that time the men were thirsting for revenge, and, flinging themselves on the now far out-numbered enemy, they pushed them back inch by inch to the verge of a flooded stream behind them. Those who were not slain were drowned by hundreds, till the piles of corpses made a footing to cross by. The Cocke and the Wharfe ran red with blood, and though it snowed the whole time there was more red than white upon the moors for many a mile.

Towton, with its deadly slaughter of the northern lords and their brave fighting men, really ended the rule of Lancaster and began that of York, and Warwick must have felt himself indeed a king-maker when he brought Edward in triumph into the old Neville castle of Middleham.

Falconbridge was made an earl, Warwick's brother John, Lord Montagu, and Bishop George soon became Archbishop of York. Other titles were bestowed upon the great earl himself, but his real reward was that for three years Edward IV. gave himself up to pleasure and left the conduct of affairs to his able cousin. He began by finishing the conquest of the North. The battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham and the capture of many castles proved Warwick's skill in combining troops, providing them with supplies, and watching the passes and roads in the difficult mountain country. He obtained a train of cannon to batter the castles with, the first to use them thus in England. At last helpless King Henry was taken prisoner and brought to Warwick, who disgraced his knightly fame by cruelly leading Henry a prisoner into London with his feet tied together under his horse as though he were some felon.

Warwick's diplomacy ended all danger in the North. He made a treaty with the Scots which drove Queen Margaret abroad, and then sought to destroy her last hopes by winning Louis XI. of France to an alliance with Edward IV. With the king's consent he began to negotiate for a marriage between Edward and a French princess when his plans were rudely checked, and he himself, like the rest of the nobles, amazed and shocked by Edward's announcement that he could not wed a French princess because he was married already, and

that to the widow of a Lancastrian knight, Elizabeth Woodville.

It was a deadly insult to Warwick that this should have been done in secret and the earl have been allowed to begin a treaty with France in ignorance of it, and he was not slow to see his young cousin's real intentions. Edward IV., in fact, wanted to rid himself of Warwick's control and have a party among the nobles devoted to himself. He promoted his wife's kindred to wealth and honours and contrived a further humiliation for the earl, who was sent to France as ambassador to arrange the treaty for which he still hoped, though a marriage was impossible. Then, when he came successfully home bringing French envoys to sign the peace, they were treated so rudely that Warwick had to entertain them himself and could not help bursting into a fit of indignation at Edward's ingratitude in their presence. The Frenchmen went home with the news that Edward had allied with the great enemy of France, Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and that the Earl of Warwick was no longer of any importance.

Warwick next saw his kinsmen roughly dismissed from their places, and, furious at the king's ingratitude and the pride and power of the Woodville family, he set his heart upon revenging the insults he suffered and securing once more the control of England for himself, even at the cost of another civil war.

He skilfully used the angry feelings of the Northerners and the discontent of old Lancastrians, and found it only too easy to play on the selfish passions of his own friends, and their hopes of gain if he should succeed.

Helped by his son-in-law Clarence, who was also jealous of the Woodvilles, he planned the successful revolt of Robin of Redesdale, which enabled him to take

Edward prisoner in 1469; for when Warwick appeared on the side of the rebels Edward's best captains, who had once been Warwick's men, deserted him with their bands. The rest fled at Edge Cote, and the king was waked at midnight by the Archbishop of York, who courteously desired him to 'Rise, and come to see my brother of Warwick.'

Edward, however, defeated Warwick's plans by putting on a semblance of resignation. He pretended to be fickle enough to give up his friends and plans, and so common had treachery become that Warwick perhaps believed him; at any rate, he had no excuse for keeping a guard round him, and Edward had not long to wait for an opportunity of striking back again. A little Lancastrian rising took place and was put down. Edward collected troops on this ground, and then declared that the rising had been planned by Warwick and Clarence and dared them to come to trial. They had no time to collect troops, but, hastily taking what treasure they could from Warwick Castle, rode to the coast with their families and fled over sea to France to Edward's enemy, Louis XI.

When Louis XI. discovered that Warwick's hatred of Edward IV. was stronger than his old hatred of Queen Margaret he arranged the strange alliance between the two, and Warwick, too impatient to wait for Margaret's French troops, hastened to begin the great Lancastrian rising of 1470. The magic of his name raised an army at once, ready to shout for 'King Henry' if Warwick bade them. Montagu talked over the very troops King Edward was leading; he awoke one morning to their shouts for Warwick and King Henry, and his flight enabled Warwick to enter London in triumph. Poor Henry VI., dazed by ill-treatment and

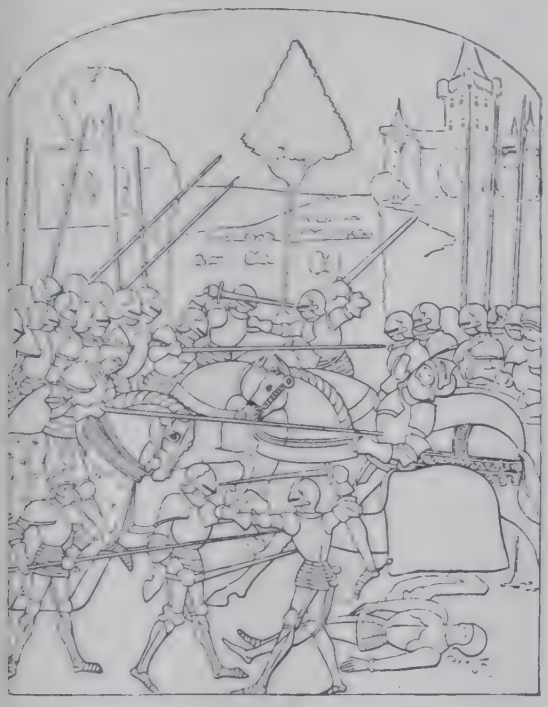
surprise, of course signed whatever orders Warwick chose, and named him governor of the kingdom. Once more he had proved himself stronger than kings.

But plans based on treachery are likely to fail through treachery. The fickle Clarence saw Warwick's success with ill-will. It was not remorse for his ingratitude to his brother Edward which moved him, but merely jealousy and covetousness. He could never hope to mount the throne now that Warwick had adopted the cause of Lancaster, and as Prince Edward was to wed Warwick's other daughter, Anne, he could not secure the whole of the earl's inheritance. Accordingly, he promised to join his brother, Edward IV., when he came back to fight for his crown (1471).

With equal falseness Edward persuaded the people of Ravenspur and York that he came 'only for his duchy.' He swore this before the altar in York Minster, and shouted, 'King Harry!' Then, when he had collected a small army of his own retainers, he dashed on to London, skilfully slipping past Montagu, who should have stopped him, and Warwick, who was entrenched at Coventry. Warwick knew that London, though it loved the king-maker better than the king, loved peace best of all and would submit to the stronger. He must fight at once, not waiting for Queen Margaret's forces. So with the Lancastrian lords, Somerset, Exeter, and Oxford, he came towards London.

On Easter Eve, 1471, the two armies ranged themselves in the fields by Barnet. Warwick fired cannon all night, but the shots went over the enemy and did no harm. In the gray of the misty morning the troops engaged, unable to see what was happening at any distance. Oxford's fiery charge broke the ranks

opposite to him, but he pursued too far, right into the streets of Barnet. When at last he came back to the rear of Warwick's men a desperate hand-to-hand combat was going on. In the mist Oxford's banner with a star and rays looked just like Edward's with the sun and sunbeams, and Warwick's archers sent a shower of arrows at their friends, who, in panic, cried out 'Treason! Treason!' and fled. This mistake decided the day. Somerset and the other Lancastrians supposed Warwick had betrayed them. Some fled, others turned their swords against Montagu, who fell dead, the Kentishmen broke and fled, and Warwick, attempting to fly, was hindered by his heavy armour, overtaken and slain.



BATTLE OF BARNET.

The dead body of their idol was taken to be shown to the Londoners, and left to lie three or four days on the pavement by St. Paul's, that all men might know that the great king-maker was really dead. He was little more than forty years old.

SIR THOMAS MORE, THE OXFORD REFORMER.

(1478—1535.)

Wolsey with all his pomp failed to win in his lifetime the hearts of the English people. He always looked at England from the point of view of other nations. He earnestly desired to raise and educate the people, but this was never what he had most at heart. He wanted above all things to make England an important power in Europe. Happily, there were others who could look at England from within, who felt and sympathized with the needs of the people, and who sought to raise their country, not by vast schemes of alliances abroad, but by helping the people to learn and think for themselves. At the close of the fifteenth century all Europe was filled with a spirit of unrest. It was a time of great inventions and great discoveries. Indirectly these had been helped by the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. There had been a great exodus of Greek scholars, who scattered over Europe and roused among the students at the Universities an enthusiasm for the Greek language and literature which hitherto had been almost entirely confined to Italy. Men studied the classics, and looked back to a time before the world was ruled by Popes and feudal princes. The New Testament was opened to them; they detected a great difference between Christ's teaching and the practices of the

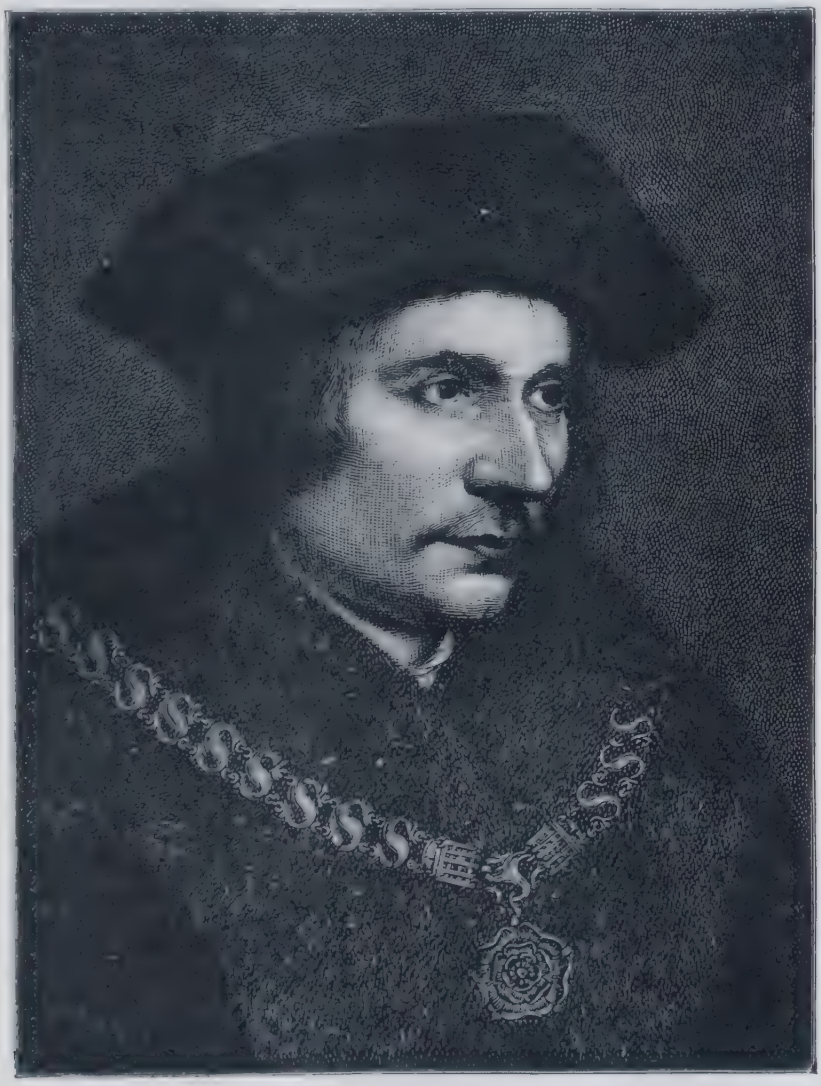
Church. They looked forward to a new order of things. Some men studied the ancient philosophers, others the poets and historians, others the Scriptures, all bent alike on the search for truth. Whatever they read and whatever conclusions they arrived at, their minds were opened. They were ready for change. It was the Renaissance, the waking of the world, the close of the Middle Ages with all their blind enthusiasms, their grand theories, their hopelessly corrupt practice. Not only did the fall of Constantinople open a new world of thought to men, indirectly it opened a new world of life and action. It was in their efforts to avoid the Turks of the Mediterranean that men found America. It was a time of endless possibilities and hitherto undreamed-of changes.

An earnest group of scholars, who had first gathered together at Oxford, threw themselves heart and soul into the work of rousing Englishmen to read more widely and think more clearly. The foremost of them were Grocyn and Linacre, two students who had read Greek in the Italian Universities; Colet, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's; and Lilly, the first headmaster of St. Paul's school. The youngest, the most attractive and brilliant of the group, was Thomas More. More had been a page in the household of Cardinal Morton, Henry VII.'s Chancellor, and his master had prophesied that he would 'make a marvellous man.' In 1492 he passed on to Oxford, where he became a devoted student of Latin and Greek. His father, a famous lawyer, who destined his son for the Bar, was obliged to recall him, lest in his passion for the New Learning he should lose all taste for the legal profession. In 1494 he was called home to London, and was entered as a law student first at New Inn, later at Lincoln's Inn. But

in his legal pursuits More dropped neither his Oxford studies nor his Oxford friends. He saw much of Grocyn and Linacre, who within a few years came to London. Probably through them he first knew Colet, and formed a deep attachment to him; while Colet, for his part, recognised that More was 'the one genius that England possessed.' Through his Oxford friends More was also brought into contact with the famous wandering scholar Erasmus, who was then teaching in England, and who, like all the rest of the world, fell in love with his brilliant mind and winning ways. In later life Erasmus often became More's guest. Erasmus was undoubtedly the greatest genius of the little group. He had known the dreary routine of the monastery in his youth, and recognised the intense corruptions of the Pope's Court at Rome. It was probably through his influence that his friend's eyes were opened to the abuses of the mediæval Church. At one time of his life More, who was by nature intensely religious, had entertained serious thoughts of becoming a monk. He gave up the idea, perhaps persuaded by his friends, perhaps because he found there were abuses in the Church which were hateful to his sincerity. Later on he spared neither Pope nor monk in his satires.

In 1504 More entered Parliament, and then for the first time his friends must have realized how keenly he had the interests of the people at heart. This was the time when Henry VII., in pursuance of his great schemes of foreign alliances, was goading the people almost to rebellion by heavy taxation. His officers, Empson and Dudley, were called 'ravening wolves.' In this year the King demanded a heavy tax in Parliament on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter with James IV. of Scotland. More stoutly resisted, and the King was

forced to be content with less than one-third of the amount. Henry did not easily forgive. He found occasion to imprison and extract a fine from More's



[*Holbein.*

SIR THOMAS MORE.

father, and More became so well aware of the royal displeasure that he thought of leaving England for a time. But in 1509 Henry died, and with him fell the two

unpopular Ministers. Henry VIII. was young, high-spirited, impressionable, and a patron of the New Learning. Men rejoiced, for they saw the makings of a great king in him. More's fortunes were no longer threatened. In 1505 he had married, and a young family was growing up round him. He proved himself as kind and bright a husband and father as he had hitherto been a charming friend. His wife only lived six years, and after her death he married a widow some years older than himself, who made a good mother to his children. His home at Chelsea became renowned for its peaceful intellectual atmosphere; among his guests he from time to time reckoned the King himself. The master of the house, with his 'keen irregular face, gray restless eye, thin mobile lips, tumbled brown hair, and careless gait and dress,' was as ready to jest with his monarch as with his children, and was the great centre of attraction to all his guests.

Meanwhile More was rising in his profession. His great talent attracted Wolsey's notice, and in 1518 he was promoted to the post of examiner of petitions to the King on progress. This brought him into close touch with Henry VIII., by whose wish he entered the Privy Council. It was not only at Court that he became prime favourite. Of all men in England he was most able to understand and appreciate every class with which he came into contact. In 1515 he was sent as peace-maker to Flanders on behalf of the London merchants, who were quarrelling with the group of foreigners known as the Hanse merchants. When these quarrels came to a head in riots throughout the City, More's eloquence induced the rebels to disperse quietly, and he was afterwards appointed to inquire into the riot. There must have been a rare power of

sympathy in the man who could be at once a royal favourite, the spokesman of the trading classes, and the most popular member of the little knot of old Oxford scholars. He was later to prove himself an absolutely impartial Lord High Chancellor, and the famous author of the 'Utopia.'

The 'Utopia' is the most renowned of More's works. Every page reveals the keen insight, the cool criticism, the warm sympathy of the author. He touched with genuine earnestness on deep problems and questions which might easily have roused the King's ire, but he was able to handle every subject delicately by means of his magic wand of wit and humour. The book was a satire on our own country in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The first book set before the people in plain language the ills under which they laboured; the cruel punishments which could not deter men from crime; the numbers of idle gentry who lived, like drones, on the labour of their long-suffering tenants; the custom of turning corn-land into pasture because wool fetched a higher price than corn.

This change had already ruined hundreds. Fewer men were wanted to mind the sheep than to plough, sow, and reap, and whole households were turned adrift. More wrote: 'The sheep have become so great devourers and so wild that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves.' He dared to touch on the tyranny of the Tudor kings, and the unjust means they used to enrich themselves; the debasement of the coinage, taxes for feigned wars, the revival of 'old and moth-eaten laws,' the heavy penalties and fines. In the second book the remedy was provided in the sketch of the ideal republic, 'Utopia,' Nowhere. Here goods were possessed in common, and work was

compulsory on all. All men had leisure, and all men were educated, for in More's eyes ignorance was the root of vice. No punishment was out of proportion to the crime committed, but the temptations to commit crime were removed. There was no ceaseless striving after riches, gold was a badge of infamy, and precious stones were the playthings of children. There was absolute toleration in religion, for More believed that 'the truth of its own power would at last issue and come to light.' The most revolutionary views of kingship were put forward. In 'Nowhere' a sovereign was 'removable on suspicion of a design to enslave the people.'

More cannot really have wished the English of his day to adopt such republican forms of government. Perhaps he hoped to instil into the people something of the spirit which underlies an ideal republic—the ideas of brotherhood, of mutual helpfulness and self-sacrifice, something more of equality between man and man. Henry VIII.'s own ideas of government were distinctly opposed to More's theories. Nevertheless, the two had other interests in common which bound them very closely together. More's son-in-law, William Roper, tells in his biography how persistently the King sought More's company, visiting him on familiar terms at Chelsea, and bidding him 'be merry with' himself and the Queen in private, till More, in self-defence, was obliged to feign depression and lack of wit. Yet throughout these royal attentions More realized the changeable character of the King's friendship, and once, when Roper congratulated him, he wearily replied, 'If my head were to win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go.'

In 1523 More was made Speaker of the House of

Commons. Wolsey's influence had won him the position, but it became his painful duty to oppose the wishes of his patron. When Wolsey demanded a heavy subsidy to further his vast foreign schemes, More, in the name of the House, refused. He was acting in accordance with his theories in the 'Utopia,' where he condemned 'the effort of princes by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions,' rather than to see 'how well and peaceably to rule and govern that they have already.' It was the rival principles of Wolsey and More clashing again. Wolsey wanted English princes to be reckoned great among other princes; More wanted English people to be great among other people. More prevailed, and Wolsey exclaimed that he 'would to God that More had been at Rome when he made him Speaker!'

In 1529 More succeeded Wolsey in the chancellorship. It was the highest point of his power. Great scholars, foreign ambassadors, and the common people alike bare witness to the uprightness and vigour of his conduct—this at a time when bribery and corruption were the rule in all high offices. Erasmus wrote, 'A better or holier judge could not have been appointed.' The people showed their appreciation, after he had retired from office, in the popular doggerel, which ran:

> 'When More some time had Chancellor been,
> No more did suits remain;
> The like will never more be seen
> Till More be there again.'

He showed an untiring devotion to duty and a sense of justice, which led him to return all presents made to him and to encourage the suitors to invade his own house at Chelsea, where he 'sat in open hall, and, if possible, brought parties to friendly reconcilement.'

But the cause of Wolsey's fall was also the cause of More's. The Oxford Reformers recognised sadly the corruptions of the Papal Court—its greed for money, its ambition for earthly power. They realized that pardons and indulgences were not matters of purchase, that there could be no sacred tie in marriage-vows which were broken by a dispensation from the Pope. On all these points they must have agreed heartily with Luther, the great German reformer. But it was no part of their belief that the great Catholic Church should be broken up, merely because it had fallen upon evil days. They thought that by education, and by the gradual pressure of public opinion, the system of buying and selling spiritual things could be abolished. They wanted to teach men that pardons bought for money were worthless, not to overthrow the Pope's authority because the swarm of pardoners came from Rome. Luther thought these evils were incurable while the Pope remained in power. The whole world was perplexed. More, torn asunder between his disgust at the abuses of the Church and his dislike to the Reformation in Germany, must have been deeply troubled. He said if he could see universal peace, uniformity of religion, and the settlement of the King's 'matter of his marriage,' 'he would he were put in a sack and here presently cast into the Thames.'

The King's matter had already caused the fall of Wolsey. It was soon to be the overthrow of men even more innocent than the great Cardinal. The Pope refused to allow the divorce. Henry was determined that it should take place. He resolved that the Pope, who had refused to listen to his complaints, should be effaced from England as a figure from a slate that had served its purpose and was no longer wanted. Before

Henry dared to take such a step, he must have known well the attitude of his subjects towards the abuses of Rome. There was a general feeling of discontent and doubt. The famous Reformation Parliament was called, and by its Acts England denied the power of the Pope, and the King himself became the Supreme Head of the Church in England. Even before these Acts were completed Katharine had been divorced and the King married Anne Boleyn.

There were many men who, in spite of their sorrow at the evils connected with the Pope's Court, could not agree with Henry's proceedings in Parliament. More himself, looking on in silent disapproval, uttered the prayer, 'God give grace that these matters within a while be not confirmed with oaths.' In the spring of the year 1532 he resigned his chancellorship. He refused to attend the coronation of the new Queen. In the following year he was accused of sympathizing with a rebellion in Kent under the 'Holy Maid of Kent,' the cause of which was the separation from Rome.

His name was among those of men accused of treason in a Bill which was introduced into Parliament in 1534, and though it was afterwards omitted, in the same year an oath of adherence to the new Queen and her descendants was demanded from everyone, also an oath renouncing the power of the Pope. More was summoned to take these oaths, but he was determined from the first not to do so, even though he guessed that refusal meant imprisonment. As he set out from Chelsea for the last time, his family gathered round the gate, as was their wont, to bid him farewell. More 'pulled the wicket after him, and shut them all from him, and with a heavy heart took his boat towards Lambeth.' Only his son-in-law Roper and four servants

accompanied him. On the way he turned to Roper, and said quietly: 'Son Roper, I thank our Lord the field is won.' From that moment he never flinched in his determination, and together with Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, he was committed to the Tower.

More's source of income was gone, his home broken up, his health failing, but in spite of persuasions even from his wife he refused to take the oath. To his wife's hysterical entreaties he calmly rejoined: 'Is not this house as nigh heaven as mine own?' To the officers who were sent to argue with him he replied 'that Parliament could no more create the King Supreme Head of the Church than they could create a new God above.' Death stared him in the face, and he met it boldly. In July, 1535, the King condemned his old friend to die. On the day before his death, More sent to his eldest daughter, Margaret Roper, the hair-shirt which, for his own humiliation, he had always worn. In a letter scribbled in coal for lack of ink, he wrote: 'To-morrow is St. Thomas' even and the octave of St. Peter, therefore to-morrow long I to go to God.' On the scaffold his coolness did not desert him. He calmly remarked to the officer who was assisting him: 'I pray you, Mr. Lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself.'

More's death was keenly felt by all classes of the people, nor was the respect for him confined to England. On hearing the news, the Emperor Charles exclaimed: 'If we had been master of such a servant, we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions than such a worthy councillor.'

EDWARD SEYMOUR, THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

(1506 (?) — 1552.)

THE opening of the year 1547 brought great changes to England. Henry VIII. died. The last years of his reign had been a time of trouble and perplexity. He now left a boy of nine years old to succeed him, and a country over which he had indeed been master, but which was full of factions and discontent. Of the two distinct parties among the nobles, neither had been altogether in touch with the King. There was the old Catholic party, which had, however, been weakened by many deaths. In the very last year of Henry's reign the great Duke of Norfolk had been disgraced, and his son Surrey executed. Among the new nobility which had been enriched by the lands of the monasteries, the leaders were John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and the two Seymours, uncles of the little King. Of these, Lord Hertford, the elder, was destined during the next few years to guide England through her troubles.

Hertford and his brother had both been popular with the late King, and had risen high in his service. Hertford was a distinguished soldier. He had been in command of the army which had defeated the Scots at Solway Moss, and during the war with France he had assisted at the capture of Boulogne. He was well

Collection A. Rischgitz. [*Hulton.*

HERTFORD, THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

known to be a decided Protestant, and had taken an active part in the trial of some of the leaders of the opposite party. At the close of the reign he was

Lord Chamberlain, and he and Sir William Paget, the Chief Secretary, were with the King at his death, and had the royal will in their keeping. Hertford has consequently been accused of tampering with, or even inventing, the terms of the will, but this is unlikely, as they were decidedly not in his favour. They provided for Edward's minority to last till he was eighteen, and named a council of sixteen to carry on the government.

Hertford did not immediately publish the news of the King's death. For a few days, while the great monarch lay dead, things went on in England just as if he had been alive, while Hertford was sounding the other lords, securing the person of the little King, and concerting his own plan of action. After three days Henry's death was announced in Parliament, and on the same day Edward was proclaimed King throughout the city, and received the oaths of the Privy Council. This haste was well advised, for the King's two elder sisters were possible rivals to the throne. Soon afterwards the executors of Henry's will, among whom the lords of the Reform Party predominated, met and elected Hertford Protector, and the only great statesman who opposed him, Lord Wriothesley, lost the chancellorship. Still later Hertford, under the title Earl of Somerset, became Protector by a patent issued in the name of the young King, and a new Privy Council was nominated, of whom the Protector might summon 'such and so many as he from time to time should think convenient.' Henry's will had been practically set aside, and the chief power fell into the hands of Somerset.

Somerset's task was no light one, for grave issues had to be decided. Henry had forced upon England a form of religion which few could honestly accept. He had

tried to strike a balance between religious parties, to throw off the authority of the Pope, but to leave unchanged all the practices and the beliefs of the Church. Early in his reign the Pope himself had granted him the title Defender of the Faith, for writing a reply to Martin Luther. Neither Catholic nor Protestant was satisfied by this compromise. Among the nobles and the clergy there existed a party who would gladly have returned to obedience to Rome. On the Continent the Pope and Emperor, urged by the Yorkist Englishman, Cardinal Pole, were considering an attempt to place Mary, Katharine of Aragon's daughter, on the throne. Mary was staunch in her allegiance to the Pope. France was contemplating a still more dangerous step. The young Queen of Scotland was Mary, daughter of the Scotch King James V. and Mary of Guise. In 1543 the Scotch had promised their Queen as the wife of Edward of England; but by 1547 they were considering her union with a French prince, Francis, the son of the Dauphin. Within a few months of Henry's death the Dauphin became Henry II. of France. He was the leader of the anti-English party in France, and at once war was imminent. If Edward and his sisters were to die without heirs, the Scotch Queen might become the claimant of the English throne, and a French King rule in England. Apart from the difficulties in religion and foreign policy, Henry had in his later years threatened the very freedom of the constitution, and made himself almost an absolute ruler. Was Somerset to follow in his steps? Perhaps the most serious danger threatened from the people themselves, who were suffering from extreme poverty and inclined to rebel. All these difficulties had now to be faced, not by a king with his royal power behind him, but by a nobleman whose influence

over the other nobles had never been great, and whose position as Protector was insecure.

Whatever Somerset's faults were, he did not lack energy. He has been accused of time-serving and insincerity, of playing down to the people, of plotting against the nobles, of conniving at his own brother's death. But he had a difficult post to fill. He was in power for two years only, and two years is a short time in which to settle the affairs of a nation. He had enemies both among the old nobility and among the Protestants, even in his own family. In spite of his difficulties Somerset had a clear conception of the way in which he wished England to be governed. He set to work to carry it out boldly, and if he failed, his failure was quite as much due to the difficulties of his position as to his own personal weakness. The religious problem was the most difficult, and from Somerset's point of view it could only be solved in one way. He was a Protestant, and believed in a reformation of the practices and doctrines of the Church, not merely in the separation from Rome. He thought that as the King was now head of the Church the State should be supreme, and the Church subject to it. Bishops were therefore to be on an equality with secular officers, and their election was to take place by letters patent from the King. Laymen were appointed to sit on commissions that inquired into religious questions, and in a few cases heretics were tried before the Privy Council, not before a Church court. Somerset's first Parliament repealed the Six Articles of Henry VIII.; and abolished chantries where priests were engaged only in praying for the souls of the dead. A general visitation of all the dioceses was authorized, in order to inquire into the character of the services held in the churches. Somerset

believed firmly in an English service and the circulation of an English Bible. In the last year of his Protectorship the first English Prayer-Book was published, and its use enforced by the first Act of Uniformity, which also provided that all persons were to attend the services of the Church. In all these doings Somerset showed his Protestant tendency, but he was not violent or bigoted. The Prayer-Book contained little that was new, the chantry priests were pensioned, and to the Princess Mary Somerset granted a licence to have Mass celebrated in private. Nevertheless, there was something of the stern Puritan in him. It found voice in a proclamation warning 'parents to keep their children from the evil and pernicious games of dicing, carding, bowling, tennis, quoits, closhes, and the like.'

As a ruler Somerset proved that he had a genuine desire for liberty. It was not only because he realized that he was too weak to play the part of a despot. He consulted Parliament on foreign affairs, and tolerated a freedom of speech which was not at all in accordance with Tudor ideas of government. His whole policy was liberal and enlightened. A great Act of Repeal was passed, in the preamble of which Somerset's ideas of the duty of a ruler are set forth: 'On the Prince's part great clemency and indulgency, and rather too much forgiveness and remission of his royal power and just punishment than exact severity and justice.' All the new offences which Henry VIII. had declared to be treasons and all laws against heretics were repealed, also one of the most aggressive of Henry's measures, that which gave to the King's proclamation the force of law.

But Somerset could not give his whole attention to restoring order and promoting the reformation of the

Church. The Scotch-French alliance must at all costs be averted. The Protector's views on the subject were decided: he judged the Scotch guilty of a distinct breach of faith with the English; he also recognised the importance of uniting Scotland and England. There was a strong Protestant party in Scotland, and the two countries united on equal terms might form a Protestant power influential enough to lead the reformed Churches of Europe. It was for these reasons that Somerset determined to lead an army into Scotland, 'to bring to good effect the godly purpose of the marriage between Edward VI. and Queen Mary.' As a General, Somerset's abilities were excellent, and the campaign was wholly successful. After the surrender of several castles to the English, Somerset's army met the forces of the Regent Arran by the river Esk, and the famous battle of Pinkie Cleugh was fought. The Scotch lost mainly because, in the words of a seventeenth-century historian, 'men will not believe any bees to be in a hive till they have a sharp sense of their stings.' They 'took the English for foolish birds fallen into their net.' They were in an impregnable position, with the river Esk in front of them, the sea on their left, to the right a swamp; yet they abandoned their position to cross the river by its one narrow bridge and attack the English. There are various exaggerated accounts of the battle and its terrible slaughter. The truth remains that the Scots were severely beaten, and several hundred prisoners taken, among them the Scotch Chancellor, the Earl of Huntly. Perhaps the noble prisoner expressed the feelings of his fellow-countrymen when, in speaking of the cause of the war, he said he was well affected to favour the marriage, but he nothing liked that kind of wooing. The victory of

Pinkie Cleugh was followed by few other successes, for the Protector was obliged to return to England. The French renewed their overtures, and the Scotch nobles, notably Arran, Bothwell, and Huntly, played a double game. They were finally bought over by the French, who sent both bribes and ships. Many of the chief Scottish strongholds fell into French hands, and after some uncertain fighting by sea and land during the year 1548, Somerset saw his cherished schemes thwarted. The young Queen was taken over to France and formally betrothed to the Dauphin. Somerset fell back on an old theory which had been revived by Henry VIII., and continued the war on the claim of the English King's overlordship of Scotland. It was a mistaken policy. The Scots felt their independence threatened, and it went far to reconcile the mass of the people to the French union.

Fresh troubles greeted the Protector at home. His brother Thomas, Baron Seymour of Sudeley, had always been jealous of his power. He had married the late king's widow, Katharine Parr, and constant petty jealousies arose between Katharine and Somerset's wife. Seymour was Lord High Admiral, but he had little power in the Government, and wanted to share his brother's honours. He had, moreover, in his household both the Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey, two possible successors to the throne, and he had won over some of the leading lords, among them the Marquis of Dorset, to his friendship. In 1549 he was accused of plotting against the Protector, and condemned to death by a Bill of Attainder. This avoided a trial by peers, hence Seymour was never publicly heard in his own defence. Somerset was purposely absent at the passing of the Bill, 'for natural pity's sake,' but he practically

consented to the action of Parliament. His brother's death is the gravest stain that rests on the Protector's character.

It was all-important that the Government should be united, for in 1549 the poverty and discontent of the people caused open riots all over the country. The practice of turning corn-land into pasture and enclosing common lands for the same purpose had been growing steadily since Sir Thomas More's time. To rear the sheep fewer hands were wanted than to grow corn, hence tenants continued to be dismissed, only to roam homeless over the country. They had no longer even the monasteries to which to turn for relief. In some parts whole villages fell into ruins. One writer calculated that 50,000 towns* had lost one plough each, and as one plough was reckoned to maintain six persons, 300,000 fewer persons were provided for. The poor naturally turned to robbery for a living, hence the Tudor laws were severe on 'the waster who will not work but wander about.' The new nobles were among the most pitiless landlords. They were rising men, who cared much for wealth, little for their tenants. The old feudal ties of service and protection between tenant and lord had broken down, and instead a spirit of keen, hard competition was growing up. Somerset's laws against vagabonds are so severe that we can scarcely believe they were ever put into force. If it could be proved that a man had 'lived loiteringly' for three days, he was to be branded with the letter 'V,' and given over to the informer for two years to be his slave. But in theory the Protector sympathized with the grievances of the poor, their homelessness and poverty, the debasement of the coinage, and the high prices to which it

* The town or township would correspond to the village of to-day.

gave rise. A proclamation was issued forbidding further enclosures. At the same time an act of his own, the confiscation of the lands of the craft gilds, together with the religious gilds, had robbed the people of another source of support. More had seen the real remedy, the steady growth of manufactures in England. This in time would set the unemployed to work, and even in the sixteenth century manufacture was beginning to be carried on in large establishments. The story of one rich manufacturer, John Winchcombe, 'Jack of Newbury,' relates that he kept a hundred looms at work, and marched to Flodden Field at the head of a hundred workmen. But the Government only saw in the growth of large manufacturing establishments the danger of single sellers raising prices in the market, and they tried to repress them.

The rebels rose first in Wiltshire and Somerset. Here they were put down by Sir William Herbert, later Earl of Pembroke, who 'set sharply upon them, and oppressing some of the forwardest of them by death, suppressed all the residue by fear.' But soon after, in such different directions as Oxford and Devon, Yorkshire and Norfolk, the people 'fell into the same madness.' The persons who joined and the objects they had in view were diverse in the extreme. 'Some would have no justices, some no gentlemen, some no ordinary courts of justice, and, above all, enclosures must down.' Some others rose in favour of the old religion. In the West the rebels were driven back from Exeter, and were finally suppressed only by great cruelty. In Norfolk, where the rebellion was most serious, the people under the famous tanner Robert Ket assembled in a camp outside Norwich. Ket taught them that they were 'overtopped and trodden down by gentlemen.'

The camp was situated in a strong position on a hill, from which the rebels drove back many attacks; but at last they were dispersed by the Earl of Warwick, and their leader was captured after a short flight. All over the country the rebellions were punished with bloodshed.

After these outbreaks Somerset's unpopularity increased. Hitherto it had been thought that he had some hold on the people, and his enemies had been afraid to attack him. After the risings his schemes to abate the distress were opposed and thwarted in Parliament. The French took the opportunity of declaring war against England. As a ruler, Somerset appeared to be a failure, and the Council resolved to depose him.

Among Somerset's opponents, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was most active. Somerset was seized and imprisoned, and twenty-eight articles of accusation were brought against him. He was accused of exceeding his power as Protector, inciting the people to rebellion, and sympathizing with them; of allowing the garrisons to be under-supplied, and of having libelled the other lords to the King. In his trouble Somerset's weakness of character came out. He acknowledged his offences, and submitted himself on his knees to the King's mercy. This subjection 'made an heavenly harmony in his enemies' ears.' He was stripped of all his offices, and though his goods and lands were restored to him and he was sworn into the Privy Council again, he was no longer the first man in England. There was some hope of restoring peace when Somerset's daughter married Warwick's son, 'but as this friendship was drawn together by fear on both sides, so it was not like to be more durable than

was the fear.' The truth was, Warwick himself coveted Somerset's old position, and felt that he could not obtain it before Somerset was removed.

In the spring of 1552 the former Protector was accused of aiming at the crown. The plot was probably fictitious, but the general feeling against Somerset was strong enough to condemn him to death. His accusers evidently feared trouble, for on the day of the execution people were forbidden to leave their houses, but the order was not obeyed. To the vast crowd assembled at Tower Hill Somerset declared that he was 'condemned by a law whereunto he was subject,' and that he was 'well content.' He added 'that he had always been a furtherer of religion to the glory of God,' and besought the people 'to follow it on still.'

Suddenly came a wondrous fear upon the people after 'those words of him spoken.' There were cries for pardon and so great a confusion that Somerset might almost have effected his escape; but he realized that as a ruler he had failed, and as a failure he was condemned to die.

The Protector's own character had something to do with his fall. He had a noble ideal of government, but he was too weak to carry out his own ideas on any single subject. The result was that with one hand he was always undoing the work of the other. He earnestly desired to see England Protestant, yet, for the sake of peace, he granted to the Princess Mary, a possible successor to the throne, a licence to worship according to the old forms of religion. He longed to see England and Scotland united on free and equal terms by the marriage of the two Sovereigns, but to accomplish his object he resorted to the old hated claim of overlordship. The liberality with which he swept away a whole

body of treason laws was contradicted by the ferocity of his laws against vagabonds, and the social distress which he tried to remedy was increased by his confiscation of the lands of the gilds. Hence Somerset's two years of rule are writ down in history as a failure. It required a wiser and stronger ruler to settle the difficulties of Henry VIII.'s making.

Lines from 'The Pleasant History of John Winchcombe, in his younger years called Jack of Newbury,' showing the growth of industries in England.

Within one room, being large and long,
There stood two hundred looms full strong.
Two hundred men, the truth is so,
Wrought in these looms all in a row.
By every one a pretty boy
Sat making quills with mickle joy.
And in another place hard by
An hundred women merrily
Were carding hard with joyful cheer,
Who singing sat with voices clear.
And in a chamber close beside
Two hundred maidens did abide,
In petticoats of stammell red,
And milk-white kerchers on their heads.

* * * * *

These pretty maids did never lin,*
But in that place all day did spin,
And spinning so with voices meet
Like nightingales they sung full sweet.

* Lin = cease.

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY, THE CAUTIOUS STATESMAN.

(1520—1598.)

The life of Cecil is really the history of the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Froude has written of the great Queen that she was 'a woman and a man: she was herself and Cecil.' Cecil gave expression to all that was wisest and most statesmanlike in Elizabeth's character. He had the Queen's utmost confidence, and she allowed herself to be guided mainly by his opinion. When, on coming to the throne, she made him Secretary of State, she remarked, 'This judgment I have of you: that you will not be corrupted by any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the State.' She never had occasion honestly to regret her trust, for Cecil kept his charge nobly, and for forty years it was his influence which controlled the policy of England.

Cecil was not inexperienced when called to office by Elizabeth. His father had been a man of wealth and high standing, who had served under Henry VII. and Henry VIII. He lived at Burghley, near Stamford. Before his death he had risen to be High Sheriff of Rutland. William Cecil, the son, was educated at Cambridge. While there he married Mary Cheke, the sister of a famous Cambridge professor. On her death, he chose as his second wife Mildred Cooke, who was distinguished for her learning. Cecil held office in

Edward VI.'s reign, and was even employed by Mary, in spite of the fact that he remained a Protestant, declaring 'that he was a server of God first, and afterwards of the Queen.' But never had so difficult a task lain before him as when he was made Secretary of State by Elizabeth. The Queen was wise in her choice. Cecil was, perhaps, the only man living who was capable of guiding England through the troubles which surrounded her. In character he stands out in striking contrast to the many brilliant Englishmen to whom Elizabeth's reign owes much of its glory. He was not a man of extraordinary genius, nor a fascinating courtier, nor a spirited adventurer. But he was steady, cool-headed, far-sighted, described by a contemporary biographer as 'slow in resolving, but speedy to expedite good resolutions.' His detailed knowledge of public affairs was wonderful. He was, above all, a hard worker, and was 'ever more weary of a little idleness than of great labour.' The ill-health of his later years was attributed to his 'early rising and late watching.' At Cambridge he had been a student 'so diligent and painful as he lured the bellringer to call him up at four of the clock every morning.' His policy was one of extreme caution. He prized peace highly, for he realized that 'war is soon kindled, but peace very hardly procured.' For thirty years he warded off a war with Spain, for which he felt England was ill prepared. He never courted popularity, but he recognised the value of the nation's good opinion. 'I advise thee not to affect nor to neglect popularity too much,' he wrote as advice to his son. 'Seek not to be Essex; shun to be Ralegh.' In spite of this, the Queen's caprice, and her avowed preference for favourites such as Leicester and Essex, must often have been

bitter to the patient Secretary. Within the kingdom Cecil above all things desired unity, and was a staunch

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(*From the Ermine Portrait, in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury, Hatfield.*)

upholder of the royal will. He said, 'Without a head there could be no body, and if all were heads, there could be no bodies to set their heads upon.'

The first problem to be solved in England in 1558 was the Church question, and it was partly due to Cecil's influence that a peaceable settlement was arrived at. The second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. was republished, but with certain omissions, to reconcile the Catholic party. By a new Act of Supremacy, the royal title Supreme Head of the Church was dropped, and, instead, the Queen was recognised as supreme governor of the realm, 'as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things as temporal.' True, the main body of bishops and many clergy refused to agree to this settlement. There were, moreover, always the Roman Catholic party, who would be satisfied with nothing short of reunion with Rome, and the extreme Protestants, who objected to Church government by bishops, and who tended to split up into sects; but the mass of the people had what they wanted—a Church with whose service they were familiar, and independence of the Pope.

Cecil began at once to try to secure peace. A treaty was concluded with France, but this was not lasting. From 1562 to 1564 the English interfered to help the French Protestants in their war against the Catholics. After the Protestants had been defeated at Dreux, in 1564 terms of peace were drawn up between England and France, by which Calais, which had been lost in 1557, was definitely abandoned. In Scotland Cecil played a prominent part in drawing up the Peace of Edinburgh in 1560, by which the young Sovereigns Francis and Mary resigned their pretensions to the crown of England. But the relations between the royal cousins, Elizabeth and Mary, were never easy to settle, and afterwards Cecil wrote wearily concerning the peace: 'I have had such a torment with the

WILLIAM CECIL, FIRST BARON BURGHLEY.
(*From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.*)

Queen's Majesty as an ague hath not in five fits so much abated me.'

Elizabeth's capricious character vexed Cecil sorely

in another way. The choice of a husband for the Queen was, naturally, a great subject of debate among the people and in Parliament. Elizabeth, while hotly resenting any mention of her marriage, was constantly perplexing her advisers by entertaining various proposals. Philip of Spain had insolently proposed himself, and had been rejected, but shortly afterwards Elizabeth lent an ear to the suit of his kinsman, the Archduke Charles of Austria. At the same time she was carrying on a long and desperate flirtation with Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. Cecil himself favoured an alliance with Arran, son of the late Regent of Scotland. He hoped by this to eventually unite Scotland to England. His hopes failed, and Cecil wrote bitterly, 'Here is a great resort of wooers and controversy among lovers. Would to God the Queen had one, and the rest honourably satisfied!' But Elizabeth probably agreed with the Scotch Ambassador Melville, who once assured her, 'I think, if ye were married, ye would be but Queen of England, and now ye are King and Queen both.' Meanwhile, though frequently scorned and slighted, Cecil retained the Queen's confidence. At this time, also, the people at large trusted him, and looked to him for redress of grievances. In 1561 the Queen appointed him Master of the Court of Wards, and he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. In 1563 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. During the next year Elizabeth paid her celebrated visit to Cambridge, Cecil supervising all the arrangements. It was a brilliant success. The students were charmed with the Queen's graciousness, and with her carefully-prepared speech in the Latin tongue. Both town and gown recognised Cecil's services by characteristic

compliments. The town presented him with some 'artfully contrived confectionery,' the University with the M.A. degree.

More stormy times were coming. In 1568 the struggle between the Catholic and Protestant parties in Scotland reached a head, and resulted in the defeat of Queen Mary and her flight to England. Her presence there as half guest, half prisoner made Cecil's task of preserving peace doubly difficult. As plots and intrigues increased, he was obliged to surround himself with a body of spies, who informed him of the doings of suspected persons. It was necessary, but it made the Secretary intensely unpopular, the more especially as torture was sometimes resorted to as a means of examination. Cecil's vigilance repeatedly frustrated plots against the throne. The Northern Rebellion of 1569, which aimed at the marriage of Mary to the Duke of Norfolk and the overthrow of Cecil himself, was known to him before its outbreak. The heavy penalties which followed did not tend to increase Cecil's popularity. He knew every movement of the Papal Court, and was prepared for Pope Pius V.'s Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, published in 1570. The Ridolfi plot in 1571 was in the same way discovered by Cecil's army of spies. At the time Elizabeth was contemplating a marriage with the Duke of Anjou, later Henry III. of France, and the friend of the French Huguenots. Ridolfi was an Italian banker, the agent of Pius V., who was employed to stir up a rising in England in favour of Norfolk's marriage with Mary. The Duke of Alva was to give assistance from the Netherlands. It was therefore a blow aimed at Protestantism in Europe. Cecil intercepted letters passing between the Bishop of Ross and the Netherlanders, and

the whole affair was frustrated. The failure of the plot doomed Norfolk to death. In the same year took place the terrible massacre of the Protestants in France on St. Bartholomew's Day, which called out all Cecil's horror and indignation. But peace with Spain depended on the maintenance of friendly relations with France, and Cecil could not afford to respond to the terrible outrage as he wished.

From 1572 to 1585 Elizabeth was more or less seriously considering a marriage with the Duke of Alençon, the youngest brother of Charles IX., King of France. It suited her to defer her plans indefinitely, for it enabled her to put off the Protestant Netherlanders, who were imploring her help against the tyrannical Philip of Spain. The prospect of the marriage was viewed with the utmost dislike in England, but all public opinion on the subject was almost savagely suppressed. Alençon's patience was strained to the utmost, but his relations with Elizabeth were only definitely broken with his death in 1585.

Cecil's task had never been more difficult than during these years which preceded the great crisis. He had to keep the nation in a good temper and prevent the spread of Catholic plots, to keep in check the presumption of the Queen's favourites and the rash exploits of adventurers such as Drake and Ralegh which threatened war with Spain; to write vague conciliatory letters to France, Spain, and the Netherlands; to dally with Alençon; and, above all, to bear with the caprices of his royal mistress. In 1571 he had been created Baron Burghley, and in 1572 Lord High Treasurer. But titles and offices could not compensate for the difficulties of his position and the scorn to which he was subjected from favourites and ambassadors. Cecil

bore the brunt of everything and toiled on manfully, with little or no thanks. Spain had begun to intrigue with both Ireland and Scotland. Romanist plotters stirred up the Desmond rebellion, which blazed out in 1579. In the same year a secret agent, Esmé Stuart, was commissioned to bring Scotland back to its allegiance to the Pope. He won his way into King James' favour, and was created Duke of Lennox. Happily for Elizabeth, the Scottish Protestant lords themselves rose, and Lennox fled. Meanwhile, England was flooded with agents of Spain and of the Pope. In 1580 Parsons and Campion, the leaders of the first Jesuit mission to England, arrived. They were pledged to make as many conversions as possible among Elizabeth's subjects. In the same year Philip of Spain took possession of Portugal, and a great Catholic plot was set on foot for the murder of Elizabeth; Philip in Spain and the Duke of Guise in France were the leaders, but Cecil, with his usual vigilance, detected the plot. A certain Francis Throgmorton, one of the conspirators, was seized and confessed under torture that the Jesuit Parsons and another agent of the Pope, Allen, were to murder Elizabeth, and that the Duke of Guise was preparing to invade England.

In 1584 the Prince of Orange, the leader of the Protestants in the Netherlands, was murdered, and at last even the peace-loving Cecil saw that war could be postponed no longer. Elizabeth sent help to the Netherlands. In 1586 the disclosure of another plot in England, the Babington conspiracy to set Mary Queen of Scots upon the throne, led Cecil to the determination that the Stuart Queen must die. Elizabeth gave a reluctant consent to her cousin's death, and when it was over drove Cecil with reproaches from her

[*Photochrom Co., Ltd.*

HATFIELD HOUSE, BELONGING TO THE CECIL FAMILY.

presence. It was the one occasion on which she seems genuinely to have regretted Cecil's action.

Mary's execution was the last of the long chain of causes which brought about war. When in 1588 Philip prepared to avenge her death by the Great Armada, Cecil was entrusted with the duty of providing for the defence of England. He has been accused of a niggardliness in equipping the fleet, which might have made events go hardly with the English. Cecil would never have made a great War-Minister; a man was needed who, like the great Chatham nearly two hundred years later, might justly be accused of 'breaking windows with guineas.' He deserves little credit for the actual victory, but it brought him peace again; and in the last years of his life he was able to carry on his schemes undisturbed, confident in the loyalty of the people at home and the growing respect of nations abroad. He clung to his peace policy to the last. In 1598, when a debate arose in the Council on the question of war or peace with Spain, and Essex, Ralegh, and others urged war, Cecil quietly drew from his pocket a Prayer-Book, and, turning to Essex, pointed to the words, 'Men of blood shall not live out half their days.' The old statesman's own days had nearly run out; in the same year he died. He was succeeded in much of his public business by his son Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury.

To Cecil's untiring labours, vigilance, and foresight Elizabethan England owed much of the glory connected with other names. A pleasant picture has been left of him in his private life. He was a devoted father and a faithful friend. He delighted in building and planning houses and gardens. He entertained the Queen twelve times in all at his houses at Theobalds

and Wimbledon, but his favourite seat was the famous palace at Burghley. At home his way of life was simple. 'If he could get his table set round with his young little children, he was then in his kingdom.' In nature he was retiring, in habits temperate, and his biographer, who lived in the house with him, never saw him 'half an hour idle in four-and-twenty years together.'

This was the man to whom Elizabeth entrusted the affairs of her kingdom, and even when reproaching him in private and scorning him in public, she recognised his high value. She said 'that her comfort had been in her people's happiness, and their happiness in his discretion.'

Poem written in Praise of Queen Elizabeth after the Defeat of the Armada.

'*A proper new ballad wherein is plain to be seen how God blesseth England for love of a Queen.*'

London, London, sing and praise thy Lord!
Let England's joy be seen!
True subjects, quickly show with one accord
Your love unto your Queen,
Elizabeth so brave,
Whose virtues rare beseem her well.
From all the world she bears the bell;
Her due deserts no tongue can tell;
Her self she doth behave,
That all the world doth marvel much
How Nature should frame any such;
Of vice, none living can her touch.

For justice just, for grace and pity both,
No realm hath had her like ;
She pardons them full oft, yet would be loth
To hold if they durst strike :
Elizabeth, Lord save.
She is the jewel makes us glad ;
A greater good cannot be had.
Whilst we have her who can be sad ?
Elizabeth so brave
Doth never tread from Virtue's trace,
Her heart and mind are full of grace,
From pity she turns not her face.

ARMS OF ELIZABETH.

The Spanish spite which made the Papist boast
Hath done them little good ;
God dealt with them as with King Pharaoh's host.
Who were drowned in the flood,
Elizabeth to save.
The Lord Himself with stretched arm
Did quell their rage that sought our harm,
Their threatening breaths the Lord did charm.

Elizabeth so brave
The Lord did quite from tyrant sway,
And traitors lost their hopéd day.
Grant all her foes, Lord, like decay!

God for her cause doth clothe the ground with store
Of plenty and increase;
Our barns are full, our barques can bear no more,
And blessed we are with peace.
Elizabeth most brave,
For thee doth England feel all this;
We nothing want that needful is;
This jewel England cannot miss;
Elizabeth, Lord save!
That England may be happy still,
Confound all those that would her ill,
So laud Thy name the faithful will.

SIR WALTER RALEGH, THE SCHOLAR COURTIER, AND ADVENTURER.

(1552—1618.)

Sir Walter Ralegh, like many of the adventurous spirits of Elizabeth's reign, was a West-Countryman. He was educated at Oxford, and in 1567 he joined a troop of mounted volunteers who went to help the Protestants in France. Later he probably passed on to take part in the fighting in the Netherlands. On his return he studied law in London, but either on the hills of Languedoc or else in fighting the Spaniards in the Netherlands, he had acquired a taste for an active life. He was, moreover, stirred by the example of his adventurous half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, through whose influence he was commissioned captain of a hundred foot-soldiers to help quell the Munster rebellion. He was present at the massacre of the Spanish and Irish garrison at Smerwick. Thus early in his career he learned to look upon the Irish as worthless rebels, and the Spaniards as England's most bitter foes. Throughout his life he treated both accordingly. On his return to England, Ralegh was entrusted with despatches to the Queen, and it is quite possible that the romantic story of his introduction to her is true, and that he won his way into her graces by casting his plush cloak over a muddy spot in her road. The story is characteristic of the man. The young Ralegh fel

life strong within him; he longed for action and fame. He was a born courtier, and recognised that the quickest road to fortune lay through the Queen's friendship. Either the Earl of Leicester or his great rival, Sussex, probably had something to do with Ralegh's introduction at Court; his handsome appearance and noble bearing went straight to Elizabeth's heart. The same author who tells the tale of Ralegh's chivalry tells also how, knowing Elizabeth's fancy for him, he wrote with a diamond on a pane of glass:

'Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.'

The Queen, reading, playfully wrote the reply:

'If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.'

Nevertheless, Ralegh's rise was due to Elizabeth's favour. He became her private secretary; from time to time he was sent to escort a foreign envoy, and the Queen consulted him much on Irish business. In 1585 she appointed him Warden of the Stannary Courts of Devon and Cornwall, which decided disputes about the tin-mines, and in 1586 he rose to the honourable position of Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. In the same year he was granted lands in Ireland at the close of Desmond's rebellion, and became one of the most prominent of the group of Undertakers who resettled the desolated country and planted it with Protestant colonists from England. In 1587 he was still further enriched by a gift of confiscated estates in England.

But Ralegh was far from being satisfied with the idle life of a courtier. He was a man of profound ability, as the Queen had been quick to detect. His life was crowded with interests and pursuits so varied that one

alone would have sufficed an ordinary man. He was a poet whose praises were sung by Spenser, a historian the results of whose learning were afterwards embodied

SIR WALTER RALEGH.
(*From a painting by F. Zucchero.*)

in a great unfinished 'History of the World': an adventurer who dreamed of a grand future empire for his country, and who persisted, though unsuccessfully,

in his attempt to win for her a permanent footing in the great New World that lay Westward-ho. In addition, his duties at Court were not light ones, and he was a Member of Parliament for his own county, Devon. The idea of colonizing North America and building up there a power which should rival that of the Spaniards in the South had first occurred to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In 1583 he had received a licence from the Queen to colonize Newfoundland; but the expedition had proved a failure, and Gilbert had died. Ralegh renewed the licence, and in April, 1584, fitted out his first expedition to America. The Queen would not spare him to go in person, but his ships were well equipped, and a little colony was planted on the modern North Carolina coast. The colonists called their new home Virginia, in honour of the Queen. Everything depended at first on their friendly relations with the natives and a constant supply of provisions from England. In the next year Sir Richard Grenville sailed with supplies, and reported that the colonists were doing well; but soon afterwards quarrels broke out with the natives, further help from home was slow in coming, and in 1586 most of the settlers insisted on returning to England. Grenville, who again went to their help that year, found the colony deserted. He left fifteen men there, and in the next year Ralegh fitted out a still larger expedition, consisting of 150 colonists with their wives and children. But there were still further quarrels, and eventually nearly all the settlers either died or returned. Ralegh realized sadly that he had spent £40,000 to no purpose. Two results of his premature attempt at colonization have lived: the use of tobacco in England, and the cultivation of the potato.

Ralegh's spirit of enterprise next led him to follow

up Gilbert's project for discovering a North-West passage, and the Davis Straits still bear the name of the captain of Ralegh's expedition; but in this, too, he was doomed to disappointment. Besides these definite naval enterprises, he was engaged in many smaller undertakings of a semi-piratical nature, which called forth the displeasure of Cecil and the peace party.

In 1588 war broke out, and Ralegh was then in his glory. War meant unlimited adventure and plunder. Ralegh was in Ireland when the Armada set sail, but he hastened to England, and was one of the party who attacked the Spanish fleet in the rear and aided in the work of destruction. In the next year he accompanied Drake's and Norris's expedition, which attacked Lisbon; but a quarrel at Court with Essex, and the displeasure of the Queen, in the same year, drove Ralegh to Ireland again for a time, where he busied himself with settling his lands. It was probably in the summer of 1590 that he paid his visit to Spenser at Kilcolman and fell in love with the 'Faery Queen.' In 1591, however, Essex fell into disgrace for marrying Lady Sidney, and Ralegh was restored to favour. By a strange turn in the wheel of fortune his own love affairs landed him in the Tower the very next year. Here he remained for some months chafing at the confinement and making vain attempts to soften the Queen's heart. However, in the autumn a rich Spanish vessel was captured. Ralegh was needed to help apportion the spoil. No Queen could continue to frown when a wealth of amber, pearls, precious stones, satins, and diamonds was poured into her lap. This prize was Ralegh's ransom.

For the next two years Ralegh lived more quietly; he married his lady-love, Elizabeth Throckmorton, who proved a devoted wife. In 1592 he became the possessor

of Sherborne Castle in Dorset, a beautiful home, where he indulged in building, planting, and falconry to his heart's content. But he was not yet allowed to perform his duties as Captain of the Guard, and it was probably to regain his old position in the Queen's favour that his next great enterprise was undertaken. In February, 1595, Ralegh set sail for Guiana, the unexplored land from which ever and anon fabulous tales of wealth and wonder drifted to England. It was said to be the home of the King El Dorado, a Will-o'-the-wisp of untold riches whom adventurers always sought in vain. It was reported to harbour the Amazons, the warrior women, and also hideous monsters, whose eyes were in their shoulders and mouths in their chests; above all, there were rumours of gold. The Spaniards who were in possession of the island of Trinidad had from time to time penetrated to the mainland, but the Indians had always proved too strong for them. By March Ralegh reached Trinidad; he stormed St. Joseph, the Spanish town, and captured its Governor. He told the natives that he was the champion knight of a wonderful maiden Queen, sent to free them from the Spaniards. Guided by the Indians, who were very friendly, Ralegh's party rowed up the Orinoco River some three hundred miles from the sea. Then they advanced by land into a paradise rich in brilliant birds, wild deer, waterfalls, and flowers, the soil of which gave plentiful promise of silver and gold. But the autumn rains drove the explorers back again, and they returned home bearing only wild reports of the wonderland which Ralegh was fired with a burning desire to colonize. He sent Keymis, his faithful captain, to explore further; but he was too late. The King of Spain had forestalled him.

Meanwhile Ralegh's energies were diverted to another direction. Philip of Spain had just entered into a league with the Earl of Tyrone, in Ireland, and the English retaliated by the famous attack on Cadiz, of which Howard and Essex were the leaders. After a fierce struggle with four great Spanish galleons in the bay, the English landed, and forced their way into the city. Ralegh took a prominent part in the sea-fight, and was severely wounded in the leg. The citizens of Cadiz had to pay a heavy ransom, and the English bore back treasure in merchandise and gold. They left the town sacked and dismantled, the Spaniards fuming at the insult. Unhappily, the harmony between Essex and Ralegh was short-lived. In a joint expedition to the West Indies Ralegh mortally offended his rival by capturing Fayal without his assistance. Moreover, Ralegh was now at his zenith at Court. Essex, sore and bitter, was only waiting for an opportunity of revenge. In 1599 he was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and retired from Court, chafing and injured, displeased even at his own appointment. He took up his work in Ireland in a wrong spirit, and there were soon rumours that the Earl himself was planning rebellion. He returned to England without the Queen's consent, and, angry at her displeasure, intrigued with the discontented factions in the kingdom, with Protestants and Papists alike. He even connived at bringing about Sir Walter Ralegh's death.

In February, 1601, Essex was convicted of treason and executed. Ralegh's behaviour to his fallen foe seems to have been dignified and moderate, but Essex, with his beauty, wealth, and high birth, had been the darling of the people. In the public mind his rival

was connected with his death, and the fact did not increase Ralegh's popularity.

Ralegh's own dark days were approaching. In March, 1603, the Queen died. Her Stuart successor, James I., regarded the famous adventurer with mistrust and dislike. On the occasion of Ralegh's first interview with him he is said to have exclaimed, 'Rawly! Rawly true enough, for I think of thee very rawly, mon.' The truth was, James inclined to the peace policy of Lord Salisbury, the son of Cecil. Robert Cecil and Ralegh, in spite of friendly relations, had never been in agreement, and now circumstances forced them into hostility. Ralegh was dismissed, Cecil retained his office. In disgust Ralegh and his friend Lord Cobham plotted for Cecil's overthrow. Cobham, at least, may have entertained the idea of deposing James himself in favour of his cousin, Arabella Stuart. At the same time, a Roman Catholic plot was set on foot by quite another party—a priest, Watson, Cobham's brother, George Brooke, and the malcontent Protestant, Lord Grey. Both plots were discovered, and, though the evidence against Cobham and Ralegh was slight in the extreme, by skilfully confounding the two plots the judges found all five conspirators guilty of high treason. Watson and Brooke suffered death at once. The others were imprisoned during the King's pleasure, under sentence of death. The plots were known as the Main and Bye Plots.

Eleven weary years of imprisonment followed for Ralegh. Although he was allowed much liberty in the Tower, including the attendance of his own servants, and, for a time, the company of his wife, he was dead to the world, in which he longed to be busy

and stirring. His property was confiscated and his hopes of greatness crushed. Yet, even in his captivity, when he might well have despaired, Ralegh's mind was active as ever. He experimented in chemistry, he wrote much on questions of politics and on his past achievements, he spent endless hours of labour over his 'History of the World.' The people regarded him with sympathy in his disgrace. The young Prince Henry is even said to have extracted a promise of his release. 'Who but my father would keep such a bird in a cage?' he exclaimed. But the Prince died before Ralegh's prison-doors were opened. It was Ralegh's own supplications, coupled with James' difficulties, which finally released him. In 1616 he was set at liberty to lead a second expedition to Guiana in search of a gold-mine, the position of which he claimed to know. James was in want of money. He made Ralegh promise not to fight the Spaniards, but at the same time he was probably not sorry to set loose so dangerous a foe to Spain.

The voyage under the conditions named by the King was hopeless, and Ralegh must almost have known it from the first; but freedom and excitement lay before him, and the chance of 'one crowded hour of glorious life,' worth a dozen years of existence in the Tower. The expedition was on a large scale. Ralegh was provided with several ships well furnished, and carrying on board gentlemen, soldiers, and seamen. Captain Keymis, and Ralegh's son, Walter, now grown to manhood, accompanied him. They were unfortunate from the first. They were detained by storms; there was much sickness among the men; on the way Ralegh himself was struck down with fever. But there were liberty and hope, and, on

reaching Guiana, Ralegh wrote cheerily to his wife, 'Sweetheart, we are yet two hundred men, and the rest of our fleet are reasonably strong.' It was arranged that some of the ships should advance up the Orinoco under Captain Keymis, while the young Walter led a land force, and Ralegh himself remained in charge of the rest of the fleet. The English found a Spanish settlement, St. Thomas, planted in their very way on the road to the mine. They stormed it successfully, but in the fray Ralegh's son was slain. Moreover, the Spaniards still checked their advance. The case seemed hopeless, and Keymis abandoned it. On his return, Ralegh's grief and stern reproaches broke his heart. He committed suicide. Two other of Ralegh's captains deserted. The men proved discontented and suspicious. When Ralegh recklessly played his last card, and proposed an attack on the Spanish treasure-fleet, they sulkily refused to serve him, and reminded him of the conditions on which they had sailed. There was nothing left but to come home and die. Overcome with disappointment, sickness, and fatigue, with an almost certain doom staring him in the face, on his homeward journey he wrote sadly to his wife, 'God knows I never knew what sorrow meant till now!'

Even before Ralegh's arrival the King had issued a proclamation against 'the scandalous and enormous outrages' against the Spaniards. After a merely formal trial he was condemned to death. He was offered as a sacrifice to the Spaniards, whose determined foe he had been. He found it hard at first to reconcile himself to death, and even made one feeble and futile attempt to escape. But before the end came the vivacious courtier, the untiring adven-

turer, was weary of life. 'The world itself is but a larger prison out of which some are daily selected for execution,' he said to the friends who came to bid him farewell; and on the eve of his death, after a touching visit from his wife, he wrote: 'If I had not loved and honoured the King truly, and trusted in his goodness too much, I had not suffered death.' On the scaffold he was calm and dignified. The place was crowded. Ralegh asked an aged man among the crowd why he came thither. The old man answered, to pray God for him, and Ralegh thanked him gravely. The reply might have been that of hundreds, for, with the usual irony of fate, the people had recognised Ralegh's greatness too late. Ralegh's last speech was characteristic. He thanked God that he had 'sent him to die in the light, and not in darkness,' and repudiated indignantly the charges of treason brought against him. He had, he said, a long journey to take, and bade the company farewell. Then he prepared for the axe, 'the sharp medicine which is a sure cure for all diseases,' and bade the headsman strike. His death raised a passionate protest from a people who had looked coldly on him in the fulness of life.

ARMS OF SIR W. RALEGH.

CHARLES I., 'THE KING BY DIVINE RIGHT.'

(1600—1649.)

CHARLES I. was twenty-five when he came to the throne. He had been carefully educated and possessed literary and artistic taste; music and pictures were his great delight all through his life. In manner he was courteous and dignified, a strong contrast to his garrulous father, and a certain reserve and aloofness of bearing perhaps helped towards the fascination which he undoubtedly exercised over foes as well as friends.

In his youth he came under the influence of the brilliant Buckingham, which only strengthend its hold on him as years went on. It was Buckingham who inspired him with a romantic passion for the Spanish princess whom he had never seen, and whom James' political plans had assigned to him for a wife; and it was Buckingham who proposed the wild scheme of the journey into Spain. His affection for the Infanta, being only a creation of his imagination, was easily transferred, when the Spanish match proved impossible, to Henrietta Maria of France, who was destined to play the part of his evil genius. There was much that was attractive in Henrietta Maria, but her lightness of character and her French training and sympathies made her influence a dangerous one, and Charles' affection for her led him astray at more than one crisis of his life.. She could never understand that the circumstances of the English throne were entirely different from those of the French,

and could never see that ties of loyalty to her husband's country forbade her to apply to France for help in difficulties between the King and his subjects.

CHARLES I.

Charles had an unfortunate inheritance from his father. England had engaged herself in war to help the Elector Frederick, but there was no army and no

fleet, and when Parliament met it was determined to make the need of money for the war a means of obtaining concessions from the King on points of religion, and though disposed to expect good things from Charles, it was distrustful of Buckingham. Charles was determined not to yield either in religious matters or in his support of Buckingham, and when the Commons voted tonnage and poundage for one year only, instead, as was usual, for the life of the Sovereign, Charles felt he had been insulted, dissolved the Parliament before the grant was finally made, and proceeded to collect tonnage and poundage by right of custom. This, though declared later by the judges to be no infringement of actual law, was an attack upon the Commons' right to control taxation, and the Second Parliament complained of the collection of tonnage and poundage, and the mismanagement of Buckingham, and called to their bar two clergymen, Mainwaring and Montague, for preaching what was known as Arminianism, that is, anti-Calvinistic teaching. Charles, with more chivalry than policy, put himself in front of his servants and again dissolved Parliament before it had granted money for the war. The Petition of Right, presented by the next Parliament, did not really alter the position of things, for when the Commons had obtained Charles' consent to the principle that taxes were only to be levied by Parliament they still refused to vote the taxes till they should be satisfied on the religious question. Charles would not give way on this point, and as Parliament granted no money he proceeded to levy taxes by his prerogative. He argued that it was certainly better that taxes should be levied by law, according to the Petition of Right, but since the Parliament refused to put the law in motion the King must fall back upon the

use of the Prerogative, or sovereign power. The answer of the Commons was that the object of refusing the taxes was to make the King give way on questions of

religion, which, in effect, was to claim the right to be supreme in the State. The Protestation of 1629 brought matters to a crisis, and Charles dissolved the

Parliament, determined to do without one and to show the nation what Kingly government meant. The government for the next eleven years was undoubtedly in many ways of the most enlightened kind. The country became increasingly prosperous; Weston, the Lord Treasurer, improved the trade; Laud fostered education; the King enriched England with art treasures, and encouraged the growth of colonies; the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court kept down powerful oppressors. But there were men in England who thought that order and prosperity were dearly bought at the price of Parliamentary Government. There was, however, little organized resistance to the Government, except the famous refusal of John Hampden to pay the twenty shillings levied upon him for *Ship Money*.

The navies of France and Holland had lately been growing in size and strength, and it was an undoubted fact that if England was to keep her position among the nations, she must also have a navy. In the days of the Plantagenet Kings coast towns had been required to provide ships of war when they were needed; there was nothing illegal in the present demand for ships. What was new was that Charles allowed the towns to pay money instead of providing ships; that he levied the tax upon inland towns as well as sea-ports, and that there was no actual war to explain the need of ships. Hampden refused to pay this 'ship money' on purpose to bring the matter before a court of law, and Charles was so sure of his right that he was quite ready to have it challenged. Hampden's case was ably defended by the lawyer Oliver St. John, who accepted the previous decision of the judges that inland towns, since they shared the benefit of security from invasion, should

share the burden of defence, but argued that where the danger was not so pressing as to call for immediate action 'it was against the fundamental law of the land for the demand to be made except through Parliament.' Seven of the twelve Judges voted in favour of the King, but St. John's arguments soon spread abroad, and people suspected the judges of having given their judgment to gain the King's favour.

It was from Scotland that the pressure came which at last obliged Charles to call a Parliament. James and Charles by continued efforts had succeeded in restoring Bishops to Scotland, but when Charles tried to introduce a liturgy compiled by Laud, the Scotch people rose in rebellion and began what is known as the 'First Bishops' War.' Charles marched north with his army, but was unwilling to fight and concluded the Pacification of Berwick, referring the disputed points to a Scotch Parliament. But as this

Parliament at once abolished Episcopacy, Charles determined to renew the war, and summoned Strafford to his aid. He advised him to call a Parliament, trusting to English patriotism to create a feeling of enthusiasm for the war. But the King and Parliament at once quarrelled as to the amount of money to be voted, and this *Short Parliament* was hastily dissolved, to the joy of the Opposition and the dismay of Strafford, who saw that the King had thrown away his only chance of working with a Parliament. Charles was now left to face the Scotch, who had advanced into England as far as Ripon, with no money, and an army which was largely in sympathy with the invaders. He was obliged to make the Treaty of Ripon and to call the *Long Parliament*, with full knowledge that he would have to make concessions.

The first thing demanded of him was that he should sign away the life of Strafford. Torn in an agony of mind between his love for his wife, whom the Commons threatened to impeach, and his loyalty to his faithful servant, Charles asked advice from the Bishops near him. Bishop Juxon bade him obey his conscience, but Bishop Williams drew a distinction between the King's public and private conscience, and when Strafford himself sent him a message that he was not to hesitate to give him up if it were for the public good, Charles yielded; and in signing Strafford's death warrant, he signed his own.

After this Charles gave way on every point to the demands of Parliament, without, however, being able to inspire confidence in his promises. He, too, felt the most profound distrust of Pym, and saw that he would soon have to deal with an attempt to overthrow Episcopacy, and on his journey to Scotland in 1641 he

formed plans, first, for getting the help of Presbyterians in Scotland, then of Roman Catholics in Ireland, for the defence of the Church in England. Pym and his followers had some dim knowledge of these projects, and were ready to believe Charles to be implicated in the 'Incident,' a plot to murder the leaders in the Scotch Parliament, and in the Irish Rebellion, which now broke out. The *Grand Remonstrance* was the result of these fears and for a time the feeling of the nation turned in Charles' favour. Men thought that the Opposition had gone far enough; the nation was not as Puritan as the Commons; the attack on the Bishops caused a strong feeling of disapproval, and even Puritan London received Charles with some enthusiasm. Charles' best plan now was to keep quiet and show himself on the side of law as against revolution; but he was no statesman; he could not see how events were moving, and the attempted arrest of the Five Members made war inevitable. The House demanded, and was refused, the command of the Militia; Charles was shut out of Hull when he went to take possession of the military stores there, and on August 22, 1642, he set up his Standard at Nottingham.

In comparing the advantages of the King and Parliament at the beginning of the war, we see that Charles had on his side most of the nobility and gentry, and the mass of the lower classes: while Parliament had chiefly the middle classes. This gave the advantage in fighting to the King; the gentlemen, used to riding and field sports, and the labourers to out-door exercise, were better material for an army than the artizans and shopmen of the towns.

The geographical division, on the other hand, was in favour of Parliament, which had the eastern and

southern counties, with London as the centre, which not only formed a more compact section but contained most of the great towns and the richer districts, in those days.

As to money, the King's supply was at first more abundant, as the nobles gave him their wealth, but that once spent could not be renewed; while the Parliament could levy taxes on the prosperous districts.

As to alliances, Charles had hope of French help, which, however, never came, and prospects of reinforcements from his army in Ireland, while Parliament could, and in 1643 did, obtain help from Scotland, though the Marquis of Montrose raised an army on the King's side in Scotland, which was for a time brilliantly successful.

The King's army was at first better officered. He himself was no mean general; his brilliant, though rash and impulsive nephew Prince Rupert did good work for him, and Sir Ralph Hopton in Cornwall and Newcastle in the north proved more than a match for their opponents. On the Parliament side Essex and Manchester were slow and half-hearted, and at first the great genius of Cromwell, which was at last to turn the fate of the war, was in the background.

The greatest advantage, however, that the King had was in the spirit of his army. 'Church and King' was a watchword which everyone could understand and one which could inspire enthusiasm, while the abstract principle of resistance to authority was not so easy to grasp as a motive, and in those who did realize its meaning, did not tend to encourage the spirit of ready obedience to the leaders.

If a line be drawn from Hull, through Newark, Leicester, Reading and Southampton, the country

south and east may be counted as mainly on the side of Parliament; while the land north and west of a line drawn through York, Manchester, Stafford, Gloucester,

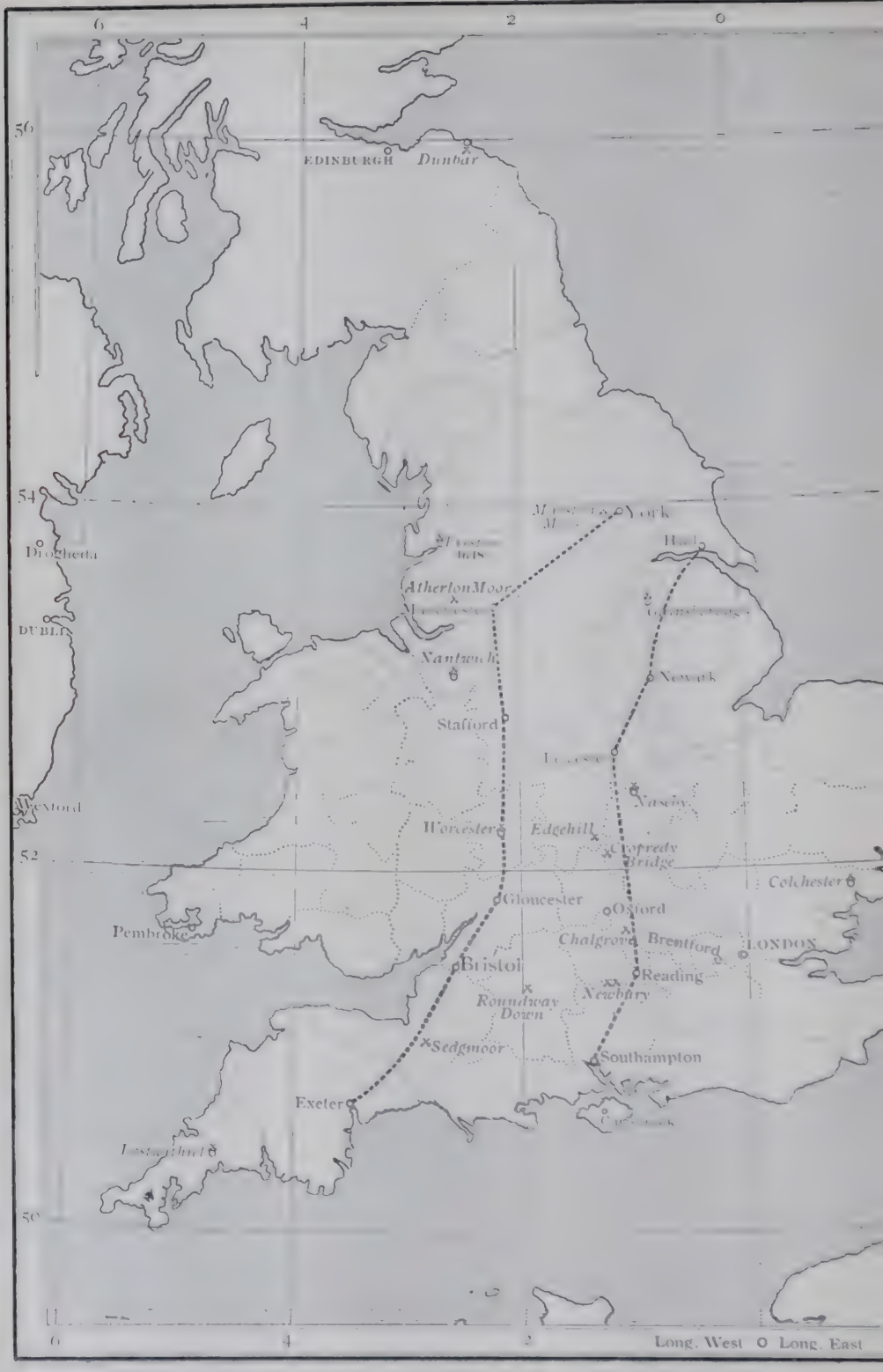
PRINCE RUPERT.

and Bristol to Exeter, was for the King: between these two lines was the chief fighting ground. The first engagement was at Edgehill, where Essex tried, but

failed, to prevent the King's approach towards London. Charles reached Brentford, causing a panic in the city, but fell back upon Oxford, which he made his head-quarters during the war, and from which he now attempted negotiations which failed. In the next year the war went almost entirely in the King's favour: Hampden's clear judgment was lost to the Parliament by his death at Chalgrove Field: the Parliamentary army under Fairfax was completely beaten at Atherton Moor in Yorkshire, by Newcastle, who advanced into Lincolnshire, where he was stopped for a time at Gainsborough by Cromwell; and Rupert, having defeated Waller at Roundway Down, took the port of Bristol, from which the King could communicate with Ireland and the Continent. Essex, however, raised the siege of Gloucester, the capture of which would have put the whole of the west in the King's hands, and would have allowed him to join with Newcastle from the north and Rupert from Cornwall to sweep the Parliamentary forces towards London. The battle of Newbury was a fruitless attempt to cut off Essex' return to London.

In the next year the Irish forces coming to the help of the King were cut to pieces by Fairfax at Nantwich, and the Scotch army which the Parliament had called to its help, turned the fortunes of the day in favour of the Parliament at Marston Moor, where Rupert's rashness lost the north for the King. Otherwise the royal cause prospered: Essex, trying to besiege the King in Oxford, was driven off and defeated at Cropredy Bridge; and later in the year was compelled to surrender all his infantry at Lostwithiel, and in the second battle of Newbury failed to prevent the King's return to Oxford.

The next year began with negotiations at Uxbridge,


6
4
2
0
56
54
52
50
EDINBURGH
Dunbar
York
Hull
Drogheda
DUBLIN
Atherton Moor
Nantwich
Newark
Stafford
Leicester
Nassby
Worcester
Edgehill
Cropredy Bridge
Colchester
Gloucester
Oxford
Pembroke
Chalgrove
Brentford
LONDON
Bristol
Reading
Roundway Down
Newbury
Sedgmoor
Southampton
Exeter
6
4
2
Long. West
Long. East

which came to nothing: and the royal cause was ruined by the defeat of the King at Naseby in June, and the surrender of Bristol in September. In the next year Oxford surrendered, and the King gave himself up to the Scotch army at Newark.

In this second stage of the war, statesmanship, the power of judging the strength and direction of political forces, was the quality most needed, and in that Charles was lacking. There were three parties which he thought he could play one against the other: the Scotch, the Parliament and the army. If he could get the Scotch army on his side he might take advantage of the ever-increasing division between the army and the Parliament to step in between them. But at present the Scotch would not hear of any conditions but the establishment of Presbyterianism, against which Charles' whole being was set. 'There are three things,' he said, 'that I will not part with, the Church, my crown, and my friends, and you will have much ado to get them from me.' So the Scotch handed the King over to Parliament and went home with part of the money owed to them.

Now Charles had two forces to reckon with, the Parliament, which was Presbyterian and jealous of the army, and the army, which was Independent, and increasingly republican, and determined not to disband without the arrears of its pay.

Charles was soon removed from the care of Parliament at Holmby House by a band of soldiers sent to take him first to Newmarket, then to Hampton Court, where he was treated with less strictness and for the first time allowed the ministry of his own chaplains and the use of the Prayer-Book. Here he lived not unhappily, with his favourite books, Shakespeare, Hooker,

Tasso, and Bishop Andrewes' sermons, and hopeful of the result of his negotiations with the Scotch, the French and the Dutch. The Scotch demanded the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years and the control of the army by Parliament for ten, and Charles was willing to agree to these terms if he could get nothing better, in the confidence that at the end of the three years Episcopacy would be only more firmly established. But better terms were offered by the officers of the army in the 'Heads of Proposals,' which demanded liberty for all forms of religion, biennial Parliaments, an extended suffrage, and the control of the Government by a Council of State. These terms Charles would gladly have accepted, if he had not buoyed himself up with the hope that he would soon be in a position, by foreign help, to reject all terms, and if he had been sure that the officers had the power to enforce this arrangement upon the great body of the army, which is very doubtful. For within three months the extreme party in the army presented the officers with the 'Agreement of the People,' a scheme of government which found no place at all for a King. Fearing the growth of this republican spirit, Charles tried to escape, but was taken and imprisoned much more strictly in Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight: from thence he renewed his negotiations with the Scotch, who entered into the 'Engagement,' demanding, as before, the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years, but leaving to Charles the appointment of ministers and the veto on Acts of Parliament. To carry out this 'Engagement' a Scotch army under Hamilton entered England, but was defeated by Cromwell at Preston, while Fairfax put down a Royalist rising in the home counties.

Charles was now left face to face with his enemies. Parliament, 'purged' by a division of the army under Colonel Pride of all members inclined to treat with Charles, was wholly at the command of the army, whose Council met to decide on the fate of the King. A small majority voted to spare his life: and Lord Denbigh was sent to offer him life on the condition that he would give up the Church and the control of Parliament. Charles, hearing the terms, refused even to see the messenger: there was no evasion now, no intrigue. To the main principle of his life Charles was absolutely true: when the choice was clear between death and the abandonment of the Church he deliberately chose death. Brought up to London to be tried before the 'High Court of Justice,' formed of the most extreme men in the army and the Parliament, he entirely refused to recognise its jurisdiction, and a sentence of death was quickly passed upon him. To attend him during the two days allowed to him to prepare for death, he had his gentleman of the bedchamber and that Bishop Juxon who had bidden him follow his conscience in the matter of signing Strafford's death warrant. On the morning of Monday, January 30, the lesson for the day, which Charles preferred before one of his own choice, was the story of the Passion of Christ, which gave him great comfort, and it was with entire confidence that he passed through the windows of his palace in Whitehall on to the scaffold, and spoke to his people assembled to see him die.

'He nothing common did, or mean,
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try

Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless right,
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed.'

His friends were allowed to bury his body in St. George's Chapel with the simple inscription on the coffin, 'King Charles, 1648,' but they were not allowed to use the Burial Service of the Prayer-Book.

King Charles' words to the people before his death contain his theory of Government. 'For the people—and truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whomsoever, but I must tell you their liberty and freedom consists in having government in those laws by which their life and goods may be most their own. It is not having a share in the government, sirs; that is nothing pertaining to them.'

Charles' conception of the Kingship was a noble one. His prerogative he held to be a trust from God to be used for the good of the nation, for which he must give account to God alone, and to yield it to Parliament would have been in his eyes not merely or chiefly a loss of his own dignity, but the desertion of a sacred trust. Unhappily he was wanting in the power of imagination through which he could attain sympathy with his people, and, secure in his own good intentions, he never could understand opposition or see the need of explaining his point of view. He set himself one great purpose, to defend the Church as he had received it.

'I am resolved by the grace of God to die in the maintenance of it' he had said, without perhaps realizing at the time how literally his words would be fulfilled. To this great purpose he was completely true; to the last he might have saved his life if he

WHITEHALL.

would have been willing to sacrifice the Church. But in his *means* he was not so true; 'the end justifies the means' was a widely received maxim at the time and did not tend to raise the standard of truthfulness. Moreover, even before the Civil War broke out, Charles was too apt to look upon his Parliament as an adversary with whom he had to use diplomacy, rather than a subject to be won by confidence and fair dealing, and after war had begun he thought himself perfectly justified in deceiving his opponents.

Whether Charles was right in his view of Government; whether the liberties of the people were safer under their hereditary Kings or in the hands of those who put Charles to death for holding to this theory of government, can best be seen from the history of the eleven years which followed his execution.

Letter from King Charles I. to Queen Henrietta Maria.

'OXFORD,
'*February* 19, $164\frac{5}{6}$

'DEAR HEART,

'Albeit that my personal danger must of necessity precede thine, yet thy safety seems hazarded by my resolution concerning church government. I am doubly grieved to differ with thee in opinion, though I am confident that my judgment, not love, is censured by thee for it. But I hope whatsoever thou mayest wish, thou wilt not blame me at all, if thou rightly understand the state of the question. For I assure thee, I put little or no difference between setting up the Presbyterian gover(n)ment, or submitting to the Church of Rome. Therefore make the case thine own. With what patience wouldst thou give ear to him who should

persuade thee, for worldly respects, to leave the communion of the Roman Church for any other? Indeed, sweetheart, this is my case; for, suppose my concession in this should prove but temporary, it may palliate though not excuse my sin. But it is strange to me how that can be imagined, not remembering any example that concessions in this kind have been recalled, which in this case is more unlikely, (if not impossible) than any other, because the means of recovering it is destroyed in the first minute of yielding, it being not only a condition for my assistance, but likewise all the ecclesiastical power so put in their hands, who are irreconcilable enemies to that Government which I contend for, as I shall never be able to master. I must confess, to my shame and grief, that heretofore I have for public respects (yet I believe, if thy personal safety had not been at stake, I might have hazarded the rest) yielded unto those things which were no less against my conscience than this, for which I have been so deservedly punished, that a relapse now would be insufferable, and I am most confident that God hath so favoured my hearty (tho' weak) repentance, that He will be glorified, either by relieving me out of these distresses (which I may humbly hope for, tho' not presume upon) or in my gallant sufferings for so good a cause, which to eschew by any mean submission cannot but draw God's further justice upon me, both in this and the next world. But let not this sad discourse trouble thee (for, as thou art free from my faults, so doubtless God hath blessings in store for thee), it being only a necessary freedom to shew thee, that no slight cause can make me deny to do what thou desirest who am eternally thine.

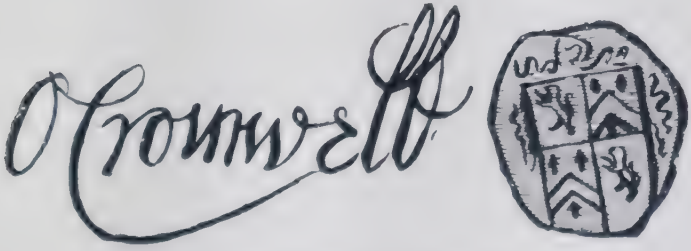
'CHARLES R.'

OLIVER CROMWELL, THE INDEPENDENT.

(1599—1658.)

OLIVER CROMWELL belonged to a Huntingdon family which in past days had been more prosperous than it had become in his generation. 'By birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity,' he says of himself. At home, at the Huntingdon Grammar School, and at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, he was under Puritan influences, and learned the Puritan habit of clothing his thoughts in scriptural language. He left Cambridge after one year's stay, and seems to have studied law for a time in London, where he met and married Elizabeth Bourchier, daughter of a city merchant. Early in life he experienced a 'sensible conversion,' or a sudden awakening to the reality of sin. He speaks of himself later as having 'lived in darkness,' which need not mean anything more than the Puritan way of speaking of the thoughtlessness of youth; there is no reason for thinking that he was guilty of any gross vice. We find records of him both at Huntingdon, and at S. Ives, where he went to live soon after his marriage, as taking the part of the poor against the rich in respect of the use of common land. The first Parliament in which he sat was that which passed the Petition of Right: in which all we hear of him is his complaint that Dr. Beard, his old schoolmaster, was prohibited from preaching against Popery.

Walker and Cockerell.



From a painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

He sat in the 'Short' Parliament for the borough of Cambridge, and his picture is drawn for us at this time by a courtier, who describes him as 'very ordinarily apparelled, in a plain cloth country suit, made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean; his stature of good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour.'

In the Long Parliament Cromwell became more prominent and we find his name on eighteen separate committees for the consideration of grievances. He was eager for the passing of the Root and Branch Bill, and of the Grand Remonstrance, as to which he said to Falkland, 'If the Remonstrance had been rejected I would have sold all I had next morning and never have seen England again.' 'So near,' says Clarendon grimly, 'was England to her deliverance.'

When the war broke out Cromwell raised a troop of horse, and with the keen eye of a military genius he saw from the first the weak spot in the Parliamentary army—the want of spirit and organization among the men. 'Your troops,' he said to Hampden, 'are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons and persons of quality. Do you think the spirit of such base and mean men will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or else you will be beaten still.' Convinced of this Cromwell worked in the Eastern Association to bring his own regiment under an iron discipline, choosing for it the extreme men who were most likely to catch the fire of en-

thusiasm, men of fanatic zeal for religion, not necessarily Presbyterians, but 'such as had the greatest antipathy to Popery and tyranny.'

HORSEMAN.

The value of this discipline was proved at Marston Moor. Here Rupert, opposed to Cromwell, made his famous cavalry charge before which even Cromwell's

Ironsides gave way; but, when the Scotch troops came to the rescue Cromwell was able to make his retreating men face about, and when they had in turn driven Rupert to flight, he restrained them from that mistake of pursuing the enemy too far, which had twice turned victory into defeat for Rupert, and brought them to the rescue of Fairfax on the left and the infantry in the centre. Cromwell's account of this battle was: 'It had all the evidences of a crowning victory, obtained by the LORD's blessing on the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy: The left wing on which I commanded, being our own horse, *saving a few Scots in our rear*, beat all the Prince's horse, and God made them stubble to our swords. Give glory, all the glory, to God.' Of which account there are two things to be said: first, that the large body of Scotch troops which recalled Cromwell's men from flight, have scant justice done to them: and secondly, that in this, as in all Cromwell's despatches, although he adjures the Parliament 'to give glory to God,' he yet is careful to explain clearly any reasons there may be for giving glory to Cromwell.

As the war went on another fact became clear to Cromwell; that the Generals Essex and Manchester were incompetent, not so much from want of military skill as because they were half-hearted: they did not want to beat the King thoroughly, but only to bring him to the point of accepting terms. At length, after the second battle of Newbury, which, Cromwell declared, might have been made a decided victory if Manchester had supported Essex, he brought definite charges of incompetence against Manchester, and by means of a measure, called the Self-Denying Ordinance, which obliged all members of either House of Parliament to

resign their commissions within forty days, the army was transferred to the command of Fairfax as General-in-Chief, the post of Lieutenant-General, with command of the Horse, being reserved, rightly, for Cromwell. The result of this 'New Model' army was at once seen in the victory at Naseby, which brought the war to an end for a time.

Now began the struggle between the army and the Parliament, the issue of which was the turning-point in Cromwell's life. The Parliament was afraid of the army and wished to get rid of it, and proposed that it should be disbanded, except for some regiments which were to go to Ireland. The army, on the other hand, was determined to have the fruits of the victory which it had won. Composed chiefly of 'sectaries,' men of all kinds of religious opinion, it was not prepared to tolerate the establishment of a Presbyterian tyranny, and having gained possession of the King's person, it turned out of the House eleven leading Presbyterian members and obliged the Parliament to yield to superior physical force.

Cromwell's course in this struggle proves the truth of his own words. 'No man rises so high as he who knows not whither he is going.' At first he fell under the spell of the King's gracious presence and declared that he was 'the uprightest and most conscientious man of the three Kingdoms.' The Heads of Proposals embody probably Cromwell's view of a wise settlement, but the body of the army was much more revolutionary than the officers, and it is not likely that they would have agreed to such terms. Organizing themselves by means of two 'agitators' or agents, in each regiment, they put forth 'the Case of the Army truly stated,' claiming that 'all power is originally and essen-

tially in the whole body of the people of this nation,' and drew up the 'Agreement of the People,' which proposed government by 'a single House of Parliament alone.' This Cromwell vigorously opposed in a speech of three hours long in praise of monarchy. This was in October, 1647. In November a mutiny, headed by the levellers, was promptly and sternly put down by Cromwell, and the ringleaders condemned to death. But at the same time he wrote to the King's agent telling him 'that he would serve the King's Majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin, but desired that he would not expect that he should perish for his sake.' In February next year he joined in voting that 'No addresses' should henceforth be offered to the King. In April, just before he went north to deal with the Scotch invasion, he held a meeting of the leaders of the army in which it was resolved 'that it was our duty if ever the LORD brought us back in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood he has shed and the mischief he has done.' Putting down on his way a rising in Wales, Cromwell marched against Hamilton, easily defeated him at Preston, and sent back a despatch to Parliament giving details of the victory, which was 'nothing but the hand of God,' and while declaring 'it is not fit for me to give advice,' he yet proceeds to give the very forcible advice that 'they that are incapable and will not leave troubling the land may speedily be destroyed out of the land.' Later in the same month he repudiated the notion of good to be expected from Charles: 'Good by this man, against whom the Lord has witnessed and whom thou knowest!' He took little part in the events which now hurried on the final catastrophe, but spoke in the House on the

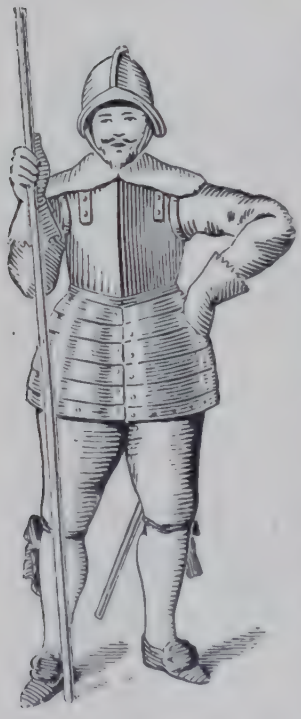
question of appointing a High Court of Justice. 'If any man whatsoever hath carried on the design of deposing the King and disinheriting his posterity, or if any man had yet such a design he should be the greatest rebel and traitor in the world, but since the Providence of God and Necessity hath cast this upon us I shall pray God to bless our counsels, though I be not provided on the sudden to give you counsel.' Two days later he was saying 'I tell you we will cut off his head with the crown upon it,' and on January 27, 1649, he sat as a member of the body which voted the King's death.

MUSKETEER.

Much work now lay before Cromwell. The Government was in the hands of the Commons, which at once decreed the abolition of the House of Lords and entrusted Cromwell with the work which Fairfax refused, of putting down the royalist risings in Ireland and Scotland.

He went first to Ireland, where Dublin was almost the only place holding for the Parliament. He had no scruples to hinder his military effectiveness. To protect

Dublin from the north he first attacked Drogheda, whose garrison, refusing to surrender, he put ruthlessly to the sword, justifying his action on the plea that harsh measures would save future bloodshed, and describing it as 'a righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood.' This and a similar wholesale slaughter at Wexford he looked upon as a righteous act of vengeance for the massacres of the late rebellion. The measures were effective at the time, and, as Ireland was cowed into submission, Cromwell could turn his attention to Scotland. Here he was faced by a really great general, David Leslie, with a larger army than his own. For once Cromwell was outdone in strategy, and he allowed Leslie to shut him in between his army and the sea at Dunbar. But Leslie threw away his advantage by moving down from the hills to the attack, and with the cry 'Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered,' Cromwell led on his army to break up the Scotch lines. Edinburgh soon fell, and Cromwell marched against Leslie at Stirling and forced him down into England, where he trusted rightly that the royal cause would fail to gain adherents owing to the Scotch alliance. Overtaking the royal forces at Worcester on September 3, one year after the battle of Dunbar, he won the 'crowning mercy' by superior numbers and tactics combined.



PIKEMAN.

And now Cromwell, 'crowned with Worcester's

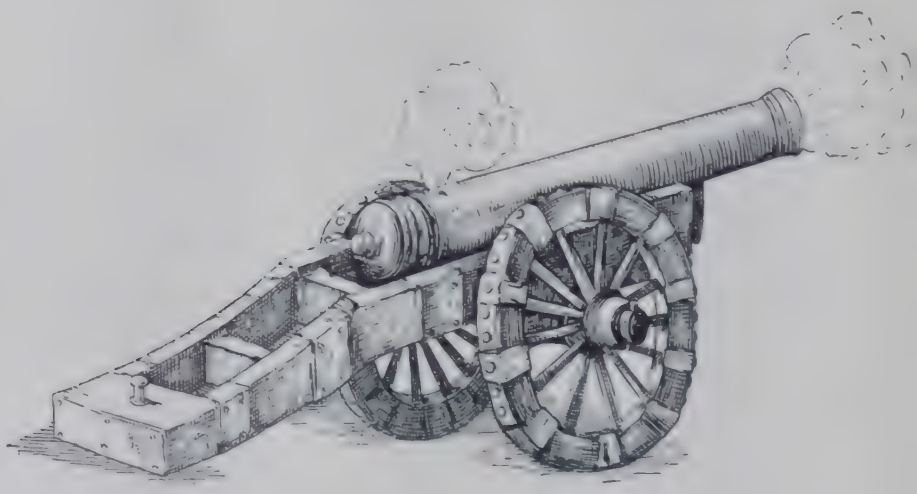
laureate wreath,' had to listen to the voice that warned him

> 'Much remains
> To conquer still: peace hath her victories
> No less renowned than war: new foes arise,
> Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains:
> Help us to save free conscience from the paw
> Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.'

The remnant of the Long Parliament, now less than ever representative of the nation, was at length preparing to yield to the demand of the army that it should dissolve itself, but was taking measures to secure that all its members should sit as a matter of course in the new Parliament. Cromwell, hurrying down to the House, sat for a while in his place in silence; then rose, and in an impassioned speech charged the House as a body, and several members by name, with corruption; and crying 'I will put an end to your prating. You are no Parliament,' he bade Harrison call in his troopers, who were ready in waiting, to clear the House. To Vane's remonstrance, 'This is not honest—yea, it is against morality and common honesty,' his only reply was, 'The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane.' Before an armed force the members were helpless, and the last vestige of the English Constitution disappeared when Cromwell, having seen the House emptied, 'locked the door and put the key in his pocket.'

England now was without a Government, except for a council of officers with whom all power lay. These, led by Cromwell, called together by name an assembly of 'the godly,' which takes its name of 'Barebone's Parliament' from one of its members. Of this body, to which was entrusted the duty of drawing up a new Constitution, Cromwell said, 'I am more troubled now

with the fool than with the knave,' and the zealous bu misguided assembly was told that it must resign it powers into Cromwell's hands. The officers having nov to construct a Constitution from the beginning, drev up the 'Instrument of Government' making Cromwel Lord Protector for life, to be assisted by a Council o State whose members were also appointed for life The power of making laws was left to a Parliament o one House, to be elected on an enlarged franchise, and



CANNON.

to sit for at least five months together each year. The Protector was not to have the power to reject any bil passed by this Parliament, though it could not becom law until twenty days had passed, during which h could make objections to it. Though no new taxe were to be levied without the consent of Parliament, revenue ample enough for times of peace, besides a sum for keeping up the navy, and an army of 30,000 mer was assigned to the Protector to be raised 'by way and means to be agreed upon by the Protector and th

Council.' Religious liberty was to be allowed to all but 'Papists or Prelatists.'

To this form of government there were three sets of opponents. The royalists of course were hostile; the 'Fifth Monarchy' men, chiefly members of the army, still yearned for the 'reign of the Saints'; and men such as Vane and Bradshaw, who had been the leaders in putting the King to death, in the hope of establishing the supremacy of Parliament, were dismayed at the power given to the Protector.

Before the Parliament met, Cromwell had laid down the lines of his foreign policy. He had inherited from the Long Parliament a war with the Dutch, to enforce the 'Navigation Act' asserting England's supremacy in the narrow seas. Blake and Monk had won victories over Van Tromp which enabled Cromwell to bring the war to an end by a very favourable peace. But his own schemes combined two great ideas: the support of Protestantism and the extension of English trade. His views were those of an Elizabethan statesman: he believed that the Protestant powers of Europe were enthusiastic in defence of Protestantism, and was eager to make a great European combination against the Roman Catholic powers. He also retained the Elizabethan idea that it was quite possible to carry on warfare against Spain in the western seas without war being declared between the two nations. In both of these ideas he was behind his time; the Protestant powers, especially Sweden, made use of his religious fervour to gain their own private ends; and he was led by his hostility to Spain into an alliance with France which helped to increase the power of that country, which was soon to become a danger to all Europe. His conquest of Dunkirk in the Spanish

Netherlands gave us a possession which was at once a source of irritation to Spain and a menace to France. But his spirited defence of the persecuted Vaudois, and his successful efforts to put down piracy in the Mediter

SHIP OF THE PERIOD.

ranean made the name of England feared throughout Europe—it was not till later that the faults of his policy became evident. These foreign operations obliged him to keep up an army of 57,000 instead of the 30,000

allowed by the Instrument of Government, and the vote on this excess in expenditure was the chief of several causes of dispute between the Protector and his first Parliament, which, though it had been carefully packed, contained so many elements of opposition that Cromwell dissolved it after five *lunar* months, bitterly complaining that he was not trusted.

When the next Parliament met ninety-three of the members were excluded, some for royalist and some for republican sympathies. But the feeling of those who remained was in favour of a Parliamentary rather than a military government; they complained of the tax of 10 per cent. on royalists; of the system by which England had been divided into districts presided over by Major-Generals to keep down the royalists and to enforce 'godliness' among ministers. However, the brilliant success of the fleet in the West Indies made them willing to grant the money needed for the war, and when a plot to murder Cromwell was discovered, they took measures to keep him in power by drawing up a new Constitution, known as the 'Humble Petition and Advice,' in which Cromwell was asked to take the title of King, with a right to name his successor, and to nominate a House of Lords. Cromwell seems to have had long in his mind the question of the kingly title. 'What if a man should take upon him to be King?' he had asked the lawyer Whitelock in 1653, and now he may have thought that perhaps the nation would settle down more quietly under a ruler whose title was a familiar one. Finding, however, that the feeling of the officers was strongly against it, he refused the title, holding it 'but a feather in his cap,' but agreed to all the other articles of the 'Petition and Advice.'

The new House of Lords soon proved a ground of quarrel, and Cromwell dissolved his second Parliament in 1658, tacitly admitting that his attempt at Parliamentary government had been a failure.

His years were drawing to a close. Constant danger of assassination, the death of his best-loved daughter, difficulties in raising money for his troops, the alienation of many of his friends, and the failure of his attempts to govern with a Parliament, combined with religious depression to darken his last days. He died on September 3, 1658, the anniversary of the victories of Dunbar and Worcester.

There is a strong pathos in Cromwell's failure to realize the ideal of government, which, it seems clear, he would willingly have exercised according to constitutional forms, but constitutional rule cannot be based on force. The supreme power, which Charles had claimed for the King and Pym had claimed for the Parliament, was, after the execution of the King and the overthrow of the Long Parliament, lodged with the army, and Cromwell had found that he could only exercise it as far as he was supported by the army. He had struggled against the recognition of this fact: the Government nearest to his ideal was that of Elizabeth, strong and national, but that had been based on the support of the nation, and Cromwell had found himself obliged to choose between letting the power fall from his hands—which would have meant either anarchy or the restoration of the King—or to enforce his rule by the fear of the army. It was not only royalists or 'malignants,' who opposed him; no one complained when they were transported to the Barbadoes without a trial—some of the 'Saints' too were troublesome. Harrison, his old ally, must be imprisoned; Lilburne, the Leveller, even

though twice acquitted when brought to trial, must be kept in prison to keep him out of mischief; the judges who refuse to find Royalists guilty of high treason must be dismissed from the bench; the Chief Justice must follow when he refuses to force a man to pay taxes not granted by Parliament. Strangely enough Cromwell was met by cases exactly like those which had stirred the opposition of Eliot and Pym and Hampden, and was obliged to take Charles' own measures against them. In religious matters it was the same. Under Laud there had been freedom of thought and of worship within the bounds of the English Church: under Cromwell it was freedom within the bounds of Puritanism. 'I had rather that Mahometism were permitted amongst us than that one of God's children be persecuted,' he had declared passionately, but the 'Prelatists and Papists,' that is, more than half the nation, were not to be reckoned as God's children; Jews were after a time admitted to the rank, and the claims of the Society of Friends were considered, and rejected, against Cromwell's personal wish. Great man as he was, Cromwell could not undo history.

'No man rises so high as he who knows not whither he is going.' These, Cromwell's own words, may be taken as the motto of his life. Greater than King Charles in most ways, he was yet weak where Charles was strong. There was no fixed goal towards which his life's aim was directed; he waited on events and let them decide his course, which therefore was crooked and contradictory; and while he professed, and probably believed, that he was waiting on the will of God, he was a prey to that subtle form of self-deception which makes a man persuade himself that whatever he wants strongly is the will of God. Therefore it was that the man who

took up arms for civil and religious liberty established a military despotism; therefore it was too that his life was so strangely ineffective. He has left no mark upon the English Constitution; his contribution to our foreign policy was disastrous in its after effects; no building or institution dates its rise from him, though churches and cathedrals throughout the Eastern counties bear marks of his destructive agency. The measure of his power is the force of the reaction by which, as soon as his iron grasp was loosed by death, the nation swung round to the old order of things.

To the Lord General Cromwell.

(1652.)

Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,
And on the neck of crownèd Fortune proud
Hast rear'd God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Darwen stream with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester's laureate wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer still; peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war: new foes arise,
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains:
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

Milton.

CHARLES II., THE RESTORED KING.

(1630—1685.)

CHARLES II. passed his boyhood in troubled times, being only twelve years old when the Civil War broke out. He was given a commission in the army and was with the King's forces in the West of England at the age of fifteen, where he formed 'a habit of speaking and judging upon what was said in the Council of officers.' When the war turned against the King, Charles received orders to go to France to join his mother, 'who is to have full power of your education in everything except religion,' wrote the King. Hyde went with him, first to the Scilly Isles, whence he was invited 'in a tender loving way to submit himself to Parliament,' then to Jersey, and finally to France in July, 1646. Here Charles lived for two years, with the philosopher Hobbes as his tutor, neglected by his mother and led into evil ways by profligate nobles, French and English. During the closing months of 1648 Charles was in Holland, doing all he could by appeals to Fairfax and others to save his father's life. A month after the King's death he was proclaimed in Scotland King of Great Britain, Ireland, and France, and an army was raised to enforce his claim, all, however, being conditional on his taking the Covenant. To this Charles agreed when he found that no other scheme was possible, and he made his way to Scotland, where he had to submit to listen 'to prayers and admonitions of

great length' and to lectures as to his moral conduct. It was probably this experience which made Charles afterwards declare that 'presbytery was not a religion

CHARLES II.
(*After the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.*)

for a gentleman.' The defeat of the Scotch army at Dunbar and at Worcester, where Charles fought gallantly, put an end to his hopes for a time. His escape after Worcester was full of adventures. For

forty days he was in England with a reward of £1,000 on his head; many of his subjects recognised, but would not betray him, and several risked their lives in his service. During the years of the Commonwealth Charles was in France till the treaty between Cromwell and France obliged him to leave; he then went to Germany and thence to the Netherlands, with the hope of Spain taking up his cause. During all this time he was pressed by poverty, but he bore his misfortunes with unfailing courage and good humour. When Monk, as the mouthpiece of the nation, invited him to return, he was at Breda in Holland, from whence he issued a Declaration promising a general pardon and a settlement of property subject to the decision of Parliament. The 'Convention' Parliament, which had met on the dissolution of the Long Parliament, declared that 'according to the ancient and fundamental law of the Kingdom, the Government is and ought to be by King, Lords and Commons.' Charles was greeted at Dover with unbounded enthusiasm, and brought to London, which he entered in triumph on his thirtieth birthday, May 29, 1660.

Just as he had cheerfully signed the Covenant, so he now signed Magna Carta and the Petition of Right; he had no difficulty in signing anything, since he would have no scruple in breaking his promise if he should find it inconvenient to keep it.

The first question which had to be decided was that of the promised pardon. Charles was not vindictive and would have freely forgiven everyone, but the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* excluded from pardon those who had put the King to death, of whom eleven were executed and the others escaped by exile. A more difficult question was that of the restoration of property.

Royalists who had been in exile with the King expected to regain their forfeited estates, but in many cases they found them in the hands of those who had fairly bought them from the Government of the day. Parliament decided that Crown and Church lands must be restored on compensation being made to the holders; but private lands were not disturbed, and disappointed royalists were heard to murmur that Parliament had passed an Act of 'indemnity for the King's enemies and oblivion for his friends.' It was a case in which it was impossible to be fair to both sides; and it was safer to offend tried friends than old enemies.

Religion was a still more difficult question; but the mind of the Parliament was clear on the point, and from this time dates the existence of *dissenters*, that is, members of religious bodies not included in the national Church. The deplorable persecuting acts against them were the work of the Parliament as the result of a reaction after the persecution of Churchmen during the Commonwealth, and were not pleasing to Charles, who, by nature easy-going, was also anxious to make it possible for Roman Catholics to have freedom of worship in England. He gave way for a time and waited for a more favourable opportunity for gaining his end, because these measures were made the condition of grants of money. Parliament proved itself lavish in its grants and a fixed revenue was voted large enough to have made Charles independent of future Parliaments if it had not been for his extravagant habits. His marriage in 1662 with Catherine of Braganza, who brought Bombay as her dowry, established a tie with France, the ally of Portugal, which he drew closer by the sale of Dunkirk. The possession of this town was really a source of weakness rather than

of profit to England, but the nation had been proud of its conquest and the transfer aroused great indignation. The Dutch War (1664-65) was the outcome of the growing purpose of the nation to extend its colonies, in which Charles always took a great interest; he had lately made a grant of land in North America to a company, who formed the colony named after the King 'Carolina,' and the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam in the midst of our colonies was a source of great annoyance. The war was costly in men and money, the Dutch fleet being a powerful one, and the fear of the intervention of France, which was not willing to see England become mistress of the sea by annihilating the Dutch fleet, made Charles wish for peace. The Great Plague which raged in London during 1665 and obliged Parliament to transfer its sitting to Oxford, and the fire of September, 1666, which destroyed the greater part of the city and much of the wealth of the citizens, made the expense of the war very burdensome, and most Englishmen felt that the Treaty of Breda, which secured for England the possession of New Amsterdam, henceforward called New York, attained the chief object of the war. But the shame felt at the burning of English ships in the Thames, just as the treaty was being arranged, left a feeling of bitterness against the Dutch which made our relations with them more difficult in after years. For most English statesmen were beginning to see that our best policy was to unite with the Dutch against the ever-growing power of Louis XIV. of France, whose conquests in the Spanish Netherlands were threatening the future of Holland and the peace of Europe. Charles, on the other hand, was inclined to ally with France. He hoped by alliance with France to obtain money to make him independent

of Parliament and so to be able to carry out his schemes in favour of liberty of worship for Roman Catholics, while Louis was quite ready to expend money to keep England from interference with his schemes of conquest in Europe. Charles understood the feeling of the nation too well to think that he could obtain their support for his plans, so he publicly gave his consent to the policy of the *Triple Alliance*, founded in 1668 by Sir William Temple, between England, Holland, and Sweden, to resist the growing power of France, while he privately pledged himself to Louis in the *Secret Treaty of Dover*, in 1670, to keep England from joining Holland against France, and to declare himself a Roman Catholic as soon as possible.

After the fall of Clarendon Charles had no responsible minister, but made use of several different men for different parts of government. The chief of these, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, were looked upon with jealousy as a clique, or a Cabal, as they were nicknamed from their initials, but they did not form a *ministry* in our sense of the word, as they were not bound to each other by any political principle, but only by their connection with the King, who gave to each so much of his confidence as he saw fit. All of them knew of the treaty with France, but only Clifford and Arlington, who were Roman Catholics, were in the secret of the article by which Charles promised to declare himself a Roman Catholic.

In spite of the Triple Alliance Charles found it possible to join France in a war with Holland in 1672, relying upon the national resentment against the Dutch. In Parliament, however, that feeling was yielding to a growing hatred of France, and they refused to grant supplies for the war unless Charles

would withdraw a *Declaration of Indulgence* which he had just issued, to suspend all laws against Dissenters, and to allow to Roman Catholics the right of private, and to Protestants the right of public, worship. The House declared that the Declaration annulled forty statutes, and Charles found himself obliged either to give up the Declaration or the war. At the bidding of Louis he withdrew the Declaration and the House then voted liberal supplies, but in their mistrust of Roman Catholics, proceeded to pass the Test Act, obliging all in office to abjure the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which is the special Roman teaching on the Sacrament of Holy Communion. Clifford had to retire from the post of Lord Treasurer, and the Duke of York, the King's brother, from that of Lord High Admiral, but most Roman Catholics felt that the Act did them little harm, as they were much more likely to be allowed to practise their religion in private if they did not excite national opposition by holding office in the State.

This war was not as successful as the last; and when the English fleet was beaten off the Texel, while the French fleet stood by without offering help, the feeling of the nation proved too much for Charles; he made peace with Holland and changed his policy, agreeing to the marriage of Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, who, after her father, was next in succession to the throne, with her cousin William Prince of Orange, the chief magistrate of the Dutch republic. Parliament, however, would have had Charles go further and declare war with France. To prevent this Louis gave Charles a yearly pension to make it possible for him to keep Parliament prorogued. Some hints of the secret articles of the Treaty of Dover had now got abroad, and men's minds were agitated by the fear that the

King was inclined to Roman Catholicism. In this state of mind they were ready to listen with credulity to the absurd story of the *Popish Plot*, originated by a worthless person named Titus Oates, who thought to enrich himself by the pretended discovery of a Roman Catholic plot to murder the King and to put James Duke of York on the throne by the help of the French. A panic spread throughout the Kingdom; innocent Roman Catholics were arrested, some executed; and the Parliament turned at once upon the King's minister, Danby, who was known to have had secret dealings with France, and impeached him. Charles, to avoid disclosures, dissolved the Parliament, which had sat for nineteen years.

From this time Charles shows to advantage, using his great abilities in a close struggle with the party headed by his old minister Ashley, now Lord Shaftesbury, who was bent upon excluding the Duke of York from the throne, as a Roman Catholic. No longer depending upon France, Charles had for once a fixed principle, the maintenance of his brother's right of succession, and in dealing with the opposition he showed his power of reading character, and of judging the feeling of the nation, and enjoyed playing off one party against another, as a game of skill. The new Parliament was completely in the power of the opposition party or Whigs, and Charles gave way on most points—the removal of his minister Danby, the appointment of a council, headed by Shaftesbury, the Habeas Corpus Act, which secured the right of a speedy trial to all prisoners; but refused to accept the Exclusion Bill, to shut out the Duke of York from the throne, and dissolved three Parliaments in succession, relying upon the dread of civil war which he knew to have been

strongly implanted in the nation by the late rebellion. The event proved that he was right. Many who regretted the prospect of a Roman Catholic King were yet still more unwilling to risk the civil war which would probably follow from an interference with the succession, and a great reaction took place; Shaftesbury and the Whigs became unpopular; and men felt ashamed of the unreasoning panic which had made them believe all the empty story of the 'Popish Plot,' and forgot the very real danger that had arisen from Charles' treaty with Louis. The King was now more popular than ever; but he was not merciful in his triumph. He punished with the severest penalties those who were implicated in the 'Rye House Plot,' a wild outbreak which he could well have afforded to disregard. He had no more Parliaments, but took care to prepare for a 'Tory' majority and to prevent opposition to his brother in the great cities by making them all forfeit their charters by a legal quibble, and giving new ones only to Tory Corporations. Before the Parliament so carefully prepared was called, Charles had died, refusing on his death-bed the ministrations of the Archbishop and choosing those of a Roman priest from whom he received the last Sacraments. His whimsical humour in apologizing for having been 'an unconscionable time in dying' was a characteristic which throughout his life endeared him to his people, and made men judge him then, as he has always been judged since, less harshly than any of his race. Yet assuredly he was the least worthy of respect of all the Stuarts. With much greater ability but much less sense of duty than his father, he prospered more because he knew when to give way and had no scruple of conscience to hinder him from doing so. Nothing, he

always declared, would induce him to set forth on his travels again, and whenever he knew that opposition was reaching the point of resistance, he yielded, even when his honour was involved.

Charles' manner was so easy and negligent that few

A COUNTRYWOMAN OF THE PERIOD.

realized how much he really worked towards his own aims, and how much determination there was in him. He would transact important business lounging over the fire in the House of Lords, and playing with his dogs. Bishop Burnet says of him: 'The King is certainly the

best bred man in the world. . . . civil rather to an excess and has a softness and gentleness with him both in his air and expression that has a charm in it. . . . The King has a vast deal of wit, indeed no man has more, and a great deal of judgment, when he thinks fit to

A MERCHANT'S WIFE OF LONDON.

employ it; he has strange command of himself; he can pass from business to pleasure and from pleasure to business in so easy a manner that all things seem alike to him; he has the greatest art of concealing himself of any man alive, so that those about him cannot tell

when he is ill or well pleased. . . . He has a very ill opinion both of men and women and is so infinitely distrustful he thinks the world is governed wholly by interests. . . . He has knowledge of many things, chiefly in all navy affairs, even in the architecture of ships he judges as critically as any of the trade can do . . . he understands much natural philosophy and is a good chymist; he knows many mechanical things and the inferior parts of the mathematics. . . . He is very kind to those he loves, but never thinks of doing anything for them.'

ENGLISH LADY OF THE PERIOD.

The interest of the King in natural science led him to encourage the Royal Society founded in 1660. His Court was brilliant and cultivated; a taste for literature and art was general, and witty conversation was a means of gaining favour with the King. In contrast to this was the low moral tone of the Court, which of course was not wholly due to the influence of Charles: part

must be put down to the effect of his courtiers having, like himself, lived a life of exile at the French Court, where the moral standard was low; and partly to the reaction from Puritanism. We know now how much genuine religion lay behind what was repulsive in the Puritan exterior, but the young Cavalier confounded the genuine Puritan with the canting hypocrite who is sure to come to the front at a time when outward profession of religion is a means of worldly advancement. Moreover, the Puritan had tried to crush down one element of human nature, the instinct for happiness and beauty, and such an attempt is always followed by dangerous reaction. So just because in the Commonwealth it had been the fashion to pretend to be good, under Charles II. it was the fashion to pretend to be more wicked than you were, and to swear and say profane things to show how far removed you were from a Puritan: because all pleasure had been denounced as sinful the young Cavalier threw himself without restraint into all kinds of pleasure. The evil was mostly on the surface and confined to London and the people of fashion: underneath was a healthy strong life soon to show itself in religious and philanthropic activity.

The most important result of the reign of Charles II. was to establish the principle of 'Ministerial responsibility,' that is, that all acts of government were to be looked upon as coming from the minister and not the King, so that if the Parliament disapproved of the policy they need not cut off the King's head, but could demand the dismissal or, if necessary, the impeachment of the minister. Thus when the secret dealings with France were discovered, it was Danby and not the King who bore the punishment, although the policy was the King's and had been carried out by Danby against his

will; and so gradually ministers grew into the habit of considering not only what the King commanded but what the nation wished. When Buckingham described Charles II. as King

> 'Who never said a foolish thing
> And never did a wise one.'

Charles retorted, 'My words are my own, my acts are my ministers',' and the words, spoken in jest, expressed a great constitutional principle.

JAMES II., THE PAPIST KING.

(1633—1701.)

JAMES, Duke of York, second son of Charles I., was only nine years old when the war broke out. He was at Oxford till it surrendered, and then was handed over to the Commissioners of Parliament, from whom he escaped under cover of a game of hide-and-seek in April, 1648. He then lived for a time with his sister, the Princess of Orange, till after the King's death, when he joined his mother and brother in Paris. His temper was so stiff and unyielding that he had constant quarrels with the Queen Mother, and even with the easy-going Charles, and he more than once left them to rejoin his sister. After the failure of the royal hopes at Worcester he served with some distinction under the great French General Turenne, but left his army to join the Spanish one when Cromwell concluded a treaty with France against Spain. On the Protector's death he rejoined his brother at Breda to watch events, and was made Lord High Admiral of England, and commanded the fleet which brought the restored King to England. Soon after he announced his secret marriage with Anne Hyde, daughter of Clarendon, who acquired a strong influence over him, and it was probably her joining the Roman Church which led to James taking the same step. In the Dutch war of 1665 he bore himself very gallantly in the battle off Lowestoft, and gained a signal victory, and received from Parliament a grant of

£120,000. He was not successful, however, in keeping the Dutch out of the Thames in 1667, though he 'ran up and down all the day, here and there,' as Pepys tells

THE FIVE CHILDREN OF CHARLES I. [*W. A. Mansell and Co.*

us. In the second Dutch war James was in command in the victorious battle in Southwold Bay, but in the next year the passing of the Test Act obliged him to resign his office of Lord High Admiral. He soon

aroused a storm of opposition by his marriage with Mary of Modena, a Roman Catholic, at the suggestion of Louis XIV. This step caused the greatest anxiety in England as to the possibility of a son being born to James, who would be brought up as a Roman Catholic, and succeed to the throne. Many attempts were made by Archbishop Sancroft and others to draw James back to the Church of his baptism, but in vain: and the Church party were obliged to be content with winning the reluctant assent of James to the marriage of his eldest daughter to the Protestant Prince of Orange. In the excitement aroused by the Popish plot James became naturally the object of the attack of the House of Commons, especially when the arrest of his wife's secretary brought to light papers written by James himself relating to the Secret Treaty of Dover, and an address was moved begging the King 'to remove the Duke of York from his counsels.' Charles at last reluctantly told James to withdraw, and he went first to Holland, then to Brussels, while the King and Halifax fought his battles in Parliament against the claim put forward by the Opposition on behalf of Monmouth. Halifax thought that this could best be done by offering, in the Security Bill, terms which would limit the power of a Roman Catholic monarch. The scheme failed to win over the Opposition, and James never forgave Halifax for the proposal. Charles now appointed James High Commissioner in Scotland, where, though taking severe measures to put down the Covenanters who had risen in rebellion, he at first behaved with much tact and moderation towards the loyal Presbyterians, discouraging the enforcement of the persecuting laws against dissenters. But in 1681 he changed his policy, and carried through the Scotch Parliament a Test Act,

imposing on all who held office an oath to support the hereditary succession and the Episcopal Church. This was rigidly enforced, and caused bitter opposition, headed by the Duke of Argyle, who refused to take the oath and was imprisoned, but escaped to Holland.

In the last years of Charles' reign James gained increasing influence over the King, and it was through his means that Charles received the ministrations of a Roman priest on his death-bed.

On ascending the throne James reassured his anxious subjects by the voluntary declaration: 'I will make it my endeavour to preserve the government both in Church and State as it is by law established.' He appointed to office his two brothers-in-law, Lords Clarendon and Rochester, both known to be devoted to the Church, and although the promoters of the Popish Plot were brought to punishment, it caused no dissatisfaction to men who had become ashamed of having been so easily led away by their inventions; and the collection of tonnage and poundage by James before it had been granted by Parliament was easily excused as a temporary measure of expediency. The nation was ready to receive the King with enthusiasm, and James might have reigned prosperously, had he not made a direct attack upon the two things for which the English people cared even more than for the throne, the Church and national independence. It was because he attacked the Church and was obliged to seek the help of the King of France in doing so that James lost the loyalty of his people.

His first Parliament was wholly Tory. A large revenue was voted, which would have made him able to shake off the disgraceful dependence on Louis XIV. in which Charles had involved himself, had he so willed,

but he took care to assure Louis of his devotion to the French alliance, knowing that the course of action which he had laid down for himself would make it necessary for him to have some resource to fall back upon to make him independent of Parliament. In Scotland also a most loyal spirit was shown, and a liberal revenue granted, with, however, a clear understanding that all laws relating to the security and freedom of the Church were to be observed.

So solid was the feeling in favour of the King that when Monmouth landed in the West of England, where he was most popular, he was joined only by the peasants and townsmen, with whom he could not possibly face the King's army in a pitched battle, and when his attempt at a surprise failed at Sedgmoor, the undertaking entirely collapsed and he himself was taken, tried, and executed, while his followers were punished by Judge Jeffreys with unnecessary severity.

The rebellion gave James an excuse for keeping up a considerable standing army, which gave rise to anxiety, as it was felt that the King would not need to keep an army at hand unless he were planning actions which would provoke opposition, and the anxiety grew deeper when it was found that many of the officers appointed to command were Roman Catholics, who held their commissions without having taken the required oath. In its second session the Parliament, unable to pass over this irregularity, yet not wishing to quarrel with the King, sent up an answer to the address to the effect that they were willing to allow them to retain their commissions provided it was clearly understood that they did not in so doing acknowledge the *Dispensing Power*, or right of the King to dispense with laws at his pleasure. James in reply prorogued the Parliament, and dismissed

Halifax from the Privy Council, although he had done more than anyone to secure the throne for him. Having appointed Jeffreys Lord Chancellor, and dismissed four judges whose opposition he feared, James allowed the legality of his action in appointing Roman Catholics to office in the army to be tried in the case of Sir Edward Hales, and obtained from the twelve judges an opinion that there was no law to prevent the King 'dispensing with any law in an individual instance.' Strengthened by this opinion, James proceeded to place Roman Catholics in positions of the greatest influence. The Master of University College, Oxford, ventured to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and was allowed to keep his position; a Roman Catholic named Massey was appointed to the Deanery of Christ Church, while the Bishopric of Oxford was given to Parker, who was known to be disloyal to the Church. When Compton, Bishop of London, refused to suspend a clergyman for preaching against the errors of Rome, James formed a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, like the High Commission Court which had been abolished by the Long Parliament, for the trial of ecclesiastical offenders, and made Jeffreys President, whereupon Archbishop Sancroft refused to sit as one of the judges. The first act of the court was to suspend Compton for refusing to silence one of his clergy at the command of the King. Early in the next year James dismissed from office his two brothers-in-law, Rochester for refusing to change his religion, Clarendon to make room for Tyrconnel, 'lying Dick Talbot,' as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

Having alienated the Church, James tried to ally with the dissenters. Advised by William Penn, a leading Quaker, he declared his intention of allowing toleration for all forms of religious belief, and in April, 1687, issued

a Declaration of Indulgence allowing freedom of public worship to all dissenters, Roman Catholic or Protestant. The support of only a few dissenters was gained by this, for though they wanted liberty of worship, the majority of Englishmen looked with dismay upon the utter disregard of the law which was shown by the King's action, and felt that it was no sound foundation for liberty. Moreover, James' lawless action was drawing Churchmen and dissenters together, and they hoped that before long they would obtain the freedom they wanted from Parliament. James' defiance of law and right was further shown by his attack on Magdalen College, Oxford, where he expelled all the Fellows because they refused to give up their right of electing their own President and to receive one nominated by the King. Cambridge did not escape; there the Vice-Chancellor was dismissed by James for refusing to give a degree to a Roman Catholic at the King's command. Men of all shades of religious belief were beginning to see that the liberty of the subject was not safe against this King.

Parliament was dissolved in 1687. James, to secure a majority of supporters in the next Parliament, dismissed from office sixteen Lords Lieutenant of the counties whom he distrusted. Resistance came first from the Church. When James, not content with issuing a Declaration of Indulgence, called upon the clergy to read it in Church, he was met by a steady refusal from the great body of the clergy, supported by seven Bishops, who took joint action in presenting a petition to the King against the Declaration. The joyful reception of the news of the acquittal of these Bishops when James had them tried for a seditious libel, only made him more determined in his course; he

went on making Roman Catholic appointments, and reviewed and strengthened his army. But the crisis was at hand. Men had felt willing to wait patiently 'until this tyranny should be overpast' as long as they hoped for the succession of Mary, but the birth of a son to James in the midst of the struggle with the Bishops, took away that hope. A prince educated as a Roman Catholic would, they thought, only make permanent the present system. It was vain to say, as some did in their desperation, that the child was not really James' son but had been smuggled into the palace. Sensible men refused such a subterfuge, and a few of the leading ones took matters into their own hands and invited William of Orange to come over 'in support of the Church and the law.' James, at length roused to a sense of danger, tried too late to draw back. He declared Roman Catholics to be ineligible as members of Parliament; announced to the Bishop of Winchester his intention to support the Church of England; restored the Bishop of London to his see, allowed the Fellows of Magdalen to return, and promised to call a Parliament. It was too late. Everything worked against James. Even the winds were favourable to William and took him past the fleet which was waiting to intercept him, to Torbay, where there was no force to oppose him. The national pride, which might naturally have been expected to resent a Dutch invasion, had been wounded by James' reliance on France, while French help was not forthcoming, for Louis had been offended by James' blunt refusal when he had offered it earlier in the year, and was moreover occupied on the Rhine. Advancing with his army to Salisbury to meet William, James found that he could not rely upon it; Churchill, one of his most trusted commanders, deserted to William, taking

with him the Princess Anne; and James returned to London, prepared to make further concessions, putting Halifax at the head of affairs. He did not, however, stay to face the situation, but tried to follow the Queen and the little Prince to France, throwing the Great Seal into the Thames as he went. He was stopped on the way by some fishermen, and by them taken to Faversham, where he was recognised and brought back to London. Nothing could have been more embarrassing to William than the presence of the King, and he was relieved of a great difficulty when James took advantage of the chances of escape which were freely given to him, and betook himself to France. Here he was received by Louis XIV. with the utmost kindness; the palace of S. Germain's was given up to him and he held a court there for the rest of his life. Louis also aided him with forces in his attempts to recover the throne. There were signs of reaction in England, but James preferred to make Ireland his point of attack, as the whole island, except Londonderry, and Enniskillen, had declared for him. The operations were, however, badly directed, and the Battle of the Boyne put an end to his hopes in that direction. But for the next ten years discontent in England and frequent plots against William made the Stuart cause seem so hopeful that most of the leading men in England found it necessary to have a secret understanding with James. The support of France was really fatal to him, as it enlisted against him all the patriotism of England.

The last years of James' life till his death in 1701 were spent in religious exercises and in writing theological essays. There is no doubt that he was sincere in his devotion to his religion and held it cowardly and unfaithful not to press forward what he conceived to be

its interests, even at the cost of his own popularity. He had more sense of duty than Charles II., but less statesmanlike understanding of the forces against him. 'The King could see if he would; the Duke would see if he could,' Buckingham had said truly of the two brothers.

He was an affectionate father, feeling bitterly the desertion of his two daughters, a faithful friend, and a kind master, though the severity with which he put down the Covenanters in Scotland and Monmouth's supporters in England points to a certain cruelty of nature. In his early life he was distinguished for courage, which, however, deserted him at the Battle of the Boyne. Burnet says of him, before his accession, 'He has naturally a candour and a justice in his temper very great, and is a firm friend but a heavy enemy, and will keep things long in his mind and wait for a fitt opportunity. He has a strange notion of government, that everything is to be carried on in a high way, and that no regard is to be had to the pleasing of the people; he has an ill opinion of any that proposes soft methods, and thinks that is popularity, but at the same time he always talks of Law and Justice.'

Sonnet on the Acquittal of the Bishops.

A voice, from long-expecting thousands sent,
  Shatters the air, and troubles tower and spire:
For Justice hath absolved the innocent,
  And Tyranny is balked of her desire:
  Up, down, the busy Thames—rapid as fire
Coursing a train of gunpowder—it went,
And transport finds in every street a vent,
  Till the whole city rings like one vast quire.

The Fathers urge the People to be still,
With outstretched hands and earnest speech—in vain!
Yea, many haply wont to entertain
  Small reverence for the mitre's offices
And to Religion's self no friendly will,
  A Prelate's blessing ask on bended knees.

WORDSWORTH.

HENRY ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE
THE TORY STATESMAN.

(1678—1751.)

If the history of England in the seventeenth century i to a great extent the history of a struggle for suprem power between King and Parliament, the history of th eighteenth century is the record of a similar struggl between the two great parties in Parliament: the Whigs who held that kings reign by the will of the peopl expressed in Parliament, and that resistance to tyrant is lawful; and the Tories, who held the doctrines of th Divine Right of Kings, and of the duty of non-resis ance to tyrants.

The Bill of Rights, passed by Parliament in 168 declared William and Mary King and Queen of Englan and excluded from the English crown all papists, o anyone married to a papist. William and Mary reigne by virtue of the people's choice, embodied in an Act Parliament. Henceforward the English monarchy wa to be a limited and Protestant monarchy, resting on parliamentary title rather than on hereditary right, an thus, while English history in the seventeenth centu can be grouped round the lives of England's kings, th central figures in the eighteenth century are those the great statesmen who led the Parliament to whic

the chief power in the government of the kingdom had passed. Among these statesmen, two in particular

Aug. Rischgitz.

HENRY ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE (1678-1751).

(*From the painting by H. Rigaud in the National Portrait Gallery.*)

sum up in their lives the history of England during the first half of the eighteenth century—the Whig, Robert

Walpole, Earl of Orford, and his brilliant rival, the Tory, Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

Born in the old Manor House at Battersea, in the year 1678, when England was full of the excitement caused by the 'Popish Plot,' Henry St. John was the schoolfellow of Robert Walpole at Eton, and had already travelled in Italy, and made acquaintance with the gay society of London and Paris, when, at the end of 1700, he married the daughter of a Berkshire baronet, and prepared to enter political life as the Tory member for Wootton Bassett, a Wiltshire borough belonging to his family. Parliament met in February, 1701, and the Tory leaders gladly welcomed the tall, handsome, bright-eyed St. John, whose gifts of passionate eloquence and scathing sarcasm soon made him a power in the House of Commons. There was, indeed, no lack of opportunity for a man of genius to win distinction in politics during the closing years of the reign of William III., when two all-important questions were pressing for solution—the question of the succession to the English throne, and the question of the Balance of Power in Europe.

With the deaths of Queen Mary in 1694, and of the little William, Duke of Gloucester, the last surviving child of the Princess Anne, Mary's sister, in 1700, the succession question had become urgent. Equally urgent was the problem how best to check the growth of the overweening influence of France, and to balance it by alliances amongst the other great European Powers. England and Holland had joined a 'Grand Alliance' against France in 1689. But though the English were successful at sea, and in the Irish campaign against James II. and his French allies, their armies sustained several severe defeats on the Continent, and there was

general rejoicing when, in 1697, the Peace of Ryswick ended the war, and Louis XIV. acknowledged William III. as King of England, and Anne as his successor. But a fresh difficulty soon arose. The childless king of Spain, Charles II., was sinking into the grave, and one of the claimants of the Spanish throne was the Dauphin, the eldest son of Louis XIV. Although he passed on his claim to his second son, Philip, Duke of Anjou, the prospect of so close a union between France and Spain alarmed William III., and two 'Partition Treaties' were drawn up in 1698 and in 1700 by England, Holland and France, distributing the Spanish dominions, and settling the throne of Spain, first on a Bavarian prince, Charles II.'s great nephew, and, after his death in 1700, on the Archduke Charles, brother of the Emperor and nephew of Charles II. But when the King of Spain died in 1700, he bequeathed his crown by will to Philip of Anjou, and Louis XIV., disregarding the Partition Treaty, accepted the inheritance for his grandson, who was crowned in Spain as Philip V.

Such was the position of affairs in the beginning of the year 1701, when Henry St. John entered Parliament. An Act of Settlement was at once passed, naming Sophia, Electress of Hanover, the niece of Charles I., and her Protestant descendants the successors to the English throne after Anne.

Though the Tories did their utmost to thwart William III., and even impeached the Whig ministers, who were held responsible for the unpopular Partition Treaties, England and Holland joined the Empire in a Triple Alliance against France, and when, on the death of James II., Louis XIV. recognised his son James, the 'Pretender,' as king, William III. was able

to take advantage of the popular indignation in England to dissolve Parliament at a moment favourable for his schemes. The new Parliament was strongly Whig, and in favour of war with France. The Tory ministers were dismissed. Bills were passed attainting the Pretender, upholding the Protestant Succession, and demanding of all office-holders an acknowledgment of William III. as the lawful king.

But success came too late for William III. On February 20, 1702, he fell from his horse and broke his collar-bone. Fever set in, and on March 8 his toilsome life ended, just when, as he himself said, a 'great new prospect was opening' before him, and he wished 'to stay a little longer.'

In April Queen Anne was crowned in Westminster Abbey, and in May war was declared against France. Parliament was dissolved in July, and the new House of Commons, which met in October, was strongly Tory. The Queen, herself a Tory and a High Churchwoman, chose her ministers from her own party. The Duke of Marlborough became Captain-General of the Forces, and the Earl of Godolphin Lord Treasurer. In this Parliament, as in the two previous ones, St. John sat for Wootton Bassett. He at first identified himself with the extreme Tories, who disliked the war, and wished to confine it within the narrowest possible limits, but he gradually drifted into the party of Godolphin and Marlborough, who realised the importance of checking the power of France; and when, in 1704, the extreme Tories in the Ministry gave place to more moderate men, St. John was appointed Secretary at War.

St. John owed his elevation in great measure to his friendship with the new Secretary of State, Robert

Harley, and with the Duke of Marlborough, whose wife was the Queen's chief favourite. The early years of his Secretaryship were glorious years for England. Marlborough's great victory at Blenheim in 1704 was followed by the English conquest of Gibraltar, and, in 1706, by the victory of Ramillies. But little by little Godolphin and Marlborough formed a closer alliance with the Whigs, and in 1706 Sunderland, a Whig, and Marlborough's son-in-law, became Secretary of State. In 1707, the year of the Union between England and Scotland, the Ministry was torn by internal dissensions, and Harley was intriguing against the Marlboroughs, with the help of the Queen's new favourite, Mrs. Masham. But Marlborough was too powerful to be driven from office. Harley's schemes failed, and he was forced to resign. St. John followed him into retirement, and Robert Walpole, who had already opposed St. John in the House of Commons, took his place as Secretary at War.

St. John now devoted himself to the study of philosophy and literature in his country home at Bucklebury, in Berkshire, while the world rang with Marlborough's victories at Oudenarde in 1708, and at Malplaquet in 1709. The continuance of the war, however, was beginning to arouse discontent. Devotion to the Church, too, was intensely strong in the country, and the Whigs were suspected of favouring Nonconformists. The cry of 'the Church in danger' was raised when, in 1710, Dr. Sacheverell, a Tory clergyman, was impeached for preaching against the Whigs and inculcating the duty of non-resistance. Sacheverell became the hero of the hour. He received a light sentence, but a violent Tory reaction followed his trial. The Whig Ministers were dismissed, Harley

became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and virtual Prime Minister, with St. John as Secretary of State, and the general election of September, 1710, gave the Tories a large majority in the House of Commons.

The last four years of the reign of Queen Anne were a critical period in English history. As the Queen's health failed, the succession question assumed greater prominence. Of the two political parties, the Whigs, though in the minority, included the wealthiest and most intelligent sections of the community—the commercial classes, the Nonconformists, a majority of the peers, and many of the bishops; while the Tories were strong in the support of the country gentry, the agricultural classes, and the lower clergy. The war, the Protestant Succession, and religious toleration, were the Whig party cries; the Tories wished before all else to establish the ascendancy of the Church and of the landed proprietors.

The first aim of the new Tory Ministers was to conclude peace, to end at all costs the Whig war, which was supported by Whig wealth, and rendered the great Whig leader, Marlborough, indispensable. Secret negotiations were opened with France in 1711, and preliminary articles were signed, more favourable to the English than those openly communicated to the Allied Powers. On January 1, 1712, it was announced that Marlborough had been dismissed from his employments, and that twelve new peers had been created to overbear Whig opposition in the House of Lords. This was the hour of St. John's triumph. 'The Secretary,' wrote the satirist Swift, 'is much the greatest Commoner in England, and turns the whole Parliament.'

Marlborough, who had weakened his own popularity by asking to be made Captain-General for life, was

declared guilty of illegal practices in the Netherlands, and Robert Walpole was sent to the Tower on a charge of corruption. The brilliant pen of Swift was employed on the Tory side, and a fierce war of political pamphlets was waged between the contending parties. Meanwhile peace negotiations were carried on, both openly in the Conference of Utrecht, in concert with the Allied Powers, and secretly between England and France, and in the spring of 1713 the famous Peace of Utrecht was at length concluded. Philip V. was recognised as King of Spain, on condition that the French and Spanish crowns should never be united; Louis XIV. acknowledged Queen Anne and the Protestant Succession, and promised that the Pretender should leave France; and England was guaranteed in the possession of Gibraltar, Minorca, and Newfoundland, and won important commercial privileges.

The Peace of Utrecht ended a burdensome and costly war, and left England a first-rate European Power, but historians agree in condemning the methods by which this result was won: the secret negotiations whereby England obtained advantages for herself, the private armistice with France which led St. John in 1712 to withdraw the British troops and desert the allied forces in the field. On the other hand, it may be urged that the war had become unjust and unnecessary, and was being pushed by the Whigs for party purposes, and by the Allies in their own interests. The favourable terms offered by Louis XIV. had been refused, and when, in 1712, the Archduke Charles became Emperor, the certain union of Spain and Austria if he won the Spanish crown might well seem at least as great a danger as the possible union between France and Spain in the person of Philip V.

St. John now turned his attention to the succession question. His aim was to establish the ascendancy of the Church and the landed proprietors on so firm a basis before the Queen's death that the Tory Ministers would be free to treat either with the Pretender or with the Elector of Hanover, son of the aged Electress Sophia, who was now on the brink of the grave. The landowners had been gratified by a Bill, passed in 1711, imposing a landed property qualification on Members of Parliament, while a blow was struck at the Nonconformists in the same year by the Occasional Conformity Act, forbidding office-holders to attend dissenting places of worship.

But the Whig opposition was still active and powerful. St. John's commercial treaty with France, which secured a large measure of free trade to England, was lost in the House of Commons. He could not even count on the undivided sympathy of his own followers, and a bitter rivalry was growing up between him and Harley, now Lord Treasurer and Earl of Oxford. It was a keen disappointment to St. John that, while Harley received an earldom, his own services were only rewarded by the inferior title of Viscount Bolingbroke, and the irresolution of the Lord Treasurer, who tried to conciliate all parties, was peculiarly provoking to the impetuous, energetic Secretary of State. The Tories, moreover, were not united among themselves. The 'Jacobites,' or extreme section, desired a Stuart restoration; the 'Hanoverian Tories,' with whom hatred of Catholicism was stronger than devotion to the old dynasty, supported the Hanoverian Succession; and the 'Neutrals' waited for circumstances to decide their course of action. Bolingbroke did not commit himself to thorough-going Jacobitism, but, like most of the

statesmen of the time, he intrigued with the Pretender's party, and the hesitation of Oxford gradually forced him into alliance with the more extreme Tories. He introduced changes in the Ministry, strengthening the High Tory element. He made friends with the Queen's favourite, the Jacobite, Mrs. Masham, and in May, 1714, to please the Church party, he brought in the Schism Act, which practically excluded the Nonconformists from the teaching profession.

Parliament had been dissolved in August, 1713, but the new House of Commons still had a Tory majority. On June 8, 1714, the Electress Sophia died, and on July 27 the long-expected crisis arrived in England with the dismissal of the Earl of Oxford. Bolingbroke was now in fact, if not in name, Prime Minister. What would have been his exact line of policy it is impossible to say. He began by inviting the Whig leaders to a conference, while at the same time raising the hopes of the Jacobites. But the cup of success was rudely dashed from his lips. The day after Harley's dismissal the Queen was struck down by mortal illness. The Jacobites were unprepared, the Tories had no plan of action ready. The Whigs were prompt to seize the opportunity. Lord Shrewsbury, a supporter of the Hanoverians, was made Lord Treasurer, and when, on August 1, Queen Anne breathed her last, the Elector was proclaimed without opposition as King George I.

'The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday,' wrote Bolingbroke; 'the Queen died on Sunday. What a world this is, and how does Fortune banter us!' His influence was, indeed, at an end. George I. gave all his confidence to the Whigs. Bolingbroke was dismissed from office, and, with Oxford, was impeached for his share in the Peace of Utrecht. Oxford stood his

ground, and the impeachment was ultimately dropped, but Bolingbroke rashly fled in disguise to France, and in his absence his property was confiscated, he was attainted of high treason, and condemned to death. He now openly joined the Pretender, who made him his Secretary of State. James Edward, the 'Old Pretender,' was at this time living in Lorraine. Had he consented to renounce Roman Catholicism, he would have had a good chance of succeeding his half-sister Anne on the English throne, but, to his honour, he resolutely refused to purchase a crown by denying his religion. He continued, however, to plot for his restoration, and in 1715 a great Jacobite rising took place in Scotland and Northern England, which was wrecked by mismanagement and disunion. Unjustly holding Bolingbroke responsible for this disaster, the Pretender dismissed him from his service. This ended his connection with Jacobitism, and he entered into negotiations with the English Government, which eventually led to his restoration to his country.

He spent the years of waiting in intriguing for his pardon, in studying and writing, living chiefly with his second wife, a Frenchwoman, on his estate of La Source, near Orleans. In 1723 he was pardoned, and visited England, but it was not until 1725 that he was empowered by Act of Parliament to enjoy his English property, though he was still debarred from sitting in either House of Parliament or holding public office. 'I am,' he wrote to Swift, 'two-thirds restored.'

Bolingbroke returned to England to find his old rival, Robert Walpole, in power, and the system of government by one party established in the Whig interest. He at once placed himself at the head of the Opposition. He tried to persuade the King to dismiss

Walpole, he intrigued against him with the Prince of Wales; and when, in 1727, the Prince mounted the throne as George II., and Walpole became more absolute than ever, he threw himself into a scheme for a coalition of Jacobites, Hanoverian Tories, and discontented Whigs under Pulteney and Carteret. The views of this party were expressed in the *Craftsman*, a weekly paper started by Bolingbroke and Pulteney, in which Walpole's policy was attacked at all points with bitter sarcasm and invective. In 1733 the *Craftsman* stimulated the opposition to Walpole's Excise Bill, which led to its withdrawal. Before the general election of 1735 Bolingbroke published in its pages his 'Dissertation on Parties,' a powerful criticism of the party system. But Whigs and Tories did not work well together, and in 1735 Bolingbroke retired once more to France. His hopes revived for a time when, in 1737, Walpole's enemies found a centre in Frederick, Prince of Wales, then in violent opposition to his father, George II. It was for the Prince of Wales that Bolingbroke now wrote his famous 'Idea of a Patriot King,' in which he set forth his ideal of a Government independent of party, with a king ruling for the good of the nation in accordance with the people's will, expressed in a free Parliament. But Prince Frederick was incapable of being a leader of men, and when, in 1742, Walpole fell, the coalition broke up, and Pulteney and Carteret went over completely to the Whig party. Bolingbroke now withdrew to France, but by 1743 he was back in England opposing Carteret's foreign policy, and in 1744 he settled down in his birthplace, the old Battersea Manor House. Here, as at Bucklebury in 1708, and at Dawley, his country house near Uxbridge, after his return from exile in

1725, he gathered wits and poets, politicians and men of letters, about him. It is pleasant to turn from Bolingbroke the baffled statesman to Bolingbroke the admirable essayist and conversationalist, the classical scholar, the friend of Swift and Pope, and of the great French philosopher Voltaire.

Politics and literature were closely connected in England in the first half of the eighteenth century, when political pamphlets and essays took the place of the modern daily Press. Each party had its own pamphleteers and poets—Addison, Steele, and Defoe on the Whig side, Swift, Prior, Parnell, Gay, and Pope for the Tories. Bolingbroke, whose own political and historical essays, pamphlets and letters are models of English prose, was the centre of a brilliant literary society. With Swift and Pope he formed a peculiarly close friendship. He was a frequent guest at Pope's villa at Twickenham, which was not far from Dawley, and it was to St. John, his 'guide, philosopher, and friend,' that Pope dedicated his 'Essay on Man.' But in 1744 Pope died, and in the years that followed Bolingbroke's little circle of friends was sadly broken. He lingered on at Battersea, old and infirm, watching public affairs with interest, but mingling in them no longer, having come, as he said himself, 'to the even of a tempestuous day.' He passed away on December 12, 1751, and was laid to rest by his second wife's side in Battersea Church.

It has been said that 'the career of Bolingbroke is in some respects the most unfortunate in English history.'* The great orator and gifted party-leader was doomed to constant disappointment. His attempt to govern

* Lecky, 'History of England in the Eighteenth Century,' vol. i. p. 366.

England by a united Tory party was wrecked in the moment of triumph by the death of Anne. His efforts to serve the Jacobite cause were defeated by the incapacity of the Pretender. His coalition against Walpole was ruined by the faithlessness of his Whig allies. The prince to whom he looked as a future 'Patriot King,' died prematurely in 1751. Yet Bolingbroke's failure was not wholly due to untoward circumstances. A man of fashion and a dabbler in philosophy, he had no real sympathy with the Churchmen and country squires whom he represented. He was not the only statesman who played a double game in those troubled times. Shrewsbury, Oxford and Marlborough were all involved in treacherous intrigues; but there was an insincerity, an artificiality, in Bolingbroke's character which made men shy of trusting him. His personal friends were devoted to him, but he was not generally popular with the nation. 'Leaves without fruit,' Voltaire once said of Bolingbroke's philosophical writings, and the same verdict might be passed on his life. Yet not altogether. The Whigs had discredited Toryism by identifying it with Jacobitism. Bolingbroke tried to remove the stigma, and to replace the doctrine of Divine Right by the doctrine of 'patriotic' kingship. The Whig Government, he argued, was a despotism maintained by a corrupt Parliament. The remedy lay in a monarchy strong enough to override parties, and enlightened enough to rule constitutionally. The reorganisation of the Tory party under George III. was the application to practical politics of the theories of the author of the 'Patriot King.'

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE

(From the picture by J. B. Van Loo.)

ROBERT WALPOLE, EARL OF ORFORD, THE WHIG STATESMAN.

(1676—1745.)

No more striking contrast can be imagined than that between the courtly, eloquent, subtle Bolingbroke and his great rival, the bluff, matter-of-fact, straightforward Walpole. Yet the brilliant Bolingbroke spent most of his time in opposition, plotting to regain place and power, while the homely Walpole ruled England almost uninterruptedly for more than twenty years.

Robert Walpole was the son of a well-to-do Norfolk squire, a man of good family, genial and practical, a sportsman, a farmer, and in politics a staunch Whig and an active Member of Parliament. The young Robert, born in 1676, was intended for the Church, and was educated at Eton and Cambridge, but by the deaths of his elder brother and of his father, he found himself, shortly after his marriage in 1700, in possession of the family estate in Norfolk, and free to devote himself to a political career. He entered Parliament as Member for the family borough of Castle Rising. Two years later, in 1702, he was returned for Lynn Regis, which he continued to represent for forty years. He made no immediate mark in the House of Commons. But he was ambitious, prudent, and patient, and possessed admirable business capacity. His debating powers, poor at first, steadily improved, he was given a post in

the Admiralty in 1705, and he replaced Bolingbroke as Secretary at War in 1708, and became Treasurer of the Navy in 1709. In 1710 Walpole was one of the managers of Sacheverell's impeachment, and when the Whig Ministry fell, he so ably defended the financial policy of Godolphin against the attacks of the Tories that he became known as 'the best master of figures of any man of his time.' The Tories retaliated by accusing him of corruption in his office, and in January, 1712, he was expelled from the House of Commons and committed to the Tower. The condemnation, however, was a mere affair of party, and he returned to Parliament, with no loss of reputation, to take an active share in the opposition to the Peace of Utrecht and in the resistance to the Schism Act. On the accession of the Whigs to power after Queen Anne's death, Walpole was made Paymaster of the Forces in the Ministry of his brother-in-law, Lord Townshend. He soon made his influence felt in the new Parliament. He was chairman of the secret committee appointed to collect evidence for the impeachment of Oxford and Bolingbroke, and in 1715 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer. The year 1716 was marked by the passing of the Septennial Act, which extended the duration of Parliament from three years to seven. In 1717 the rivalry of Townshend and of his fellow Secretary of State, Lord Stanhope, led to a schism in the Whig party. George I., a simple, well-meaning man, without much ability, unable even to speak the English language, surrounded himself with foreign favourites, and wished to draw England into war with Russia in the interests of Hanover, a policy which was steadily opposed by Townshend and Walpole. He was at deadly feud, also, with the Prince of Wales, and he

suspected the Ministers of intriguing against him with his son. His jealous irritability was stimulated by Stanhope and by Sunderland, Marlborough's son-in-law, who bore a grudge against Townshend, and who was now high in the favour of the King. Townshend was dismissed and Walpole resigned, though the King implored him to retain office. A new Ministry was formed, with Stanhope as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sunderland and Addison as Secretaries of State.

For three years Walpole was in violent opposition to his former colleagues. In 1717 he helped to bring about the abandonment of the impeachment of his old enemy, Oxford. In 1719 he attacked the repeal of that very Schism Act which he had vehemently denounced in 1714. In the same year his spirited resistance was the main cause of the defeat of the ill-advised Peerage Bill, which, by limiting the King's power of creating fresh peers, would have removed a useful check on the House of Lords, and transformed the Peerage into an exclusive caste. But the breach in the Whig ranks, though deep, was not lasting. In 1720 Walpole was instrumental in effecting a reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Wales, and not long afterwards he and Townshend consented to re-enter the Ministry, Townshend as Lord President of the Council, and Walpole as Paymaster of the Forces.

An extraordinary financial crisis soon gave Walpole all, and more than all, his old power. A complicated arrangement had been made by Government with the South Sea Company for buying up and gradually reducing the National Debt, the capital lent by the nation for war funds and public expenses in the reign of William III. and subsequently. The scheme was

plausible, and it became the fashion to invest in South Sea stock. A mad frenzy of speculation followed, which ended in panic and ruin. Stanhope died suddenly in the midst of the scandal, and Sunderland was forced to resign. The bursting of the 'South Sea Bubble' gave Walpole his opportunity. All men turned to him as the best financier in England. He was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and entered on that long tenure of public office which only ended with his fall in 1742. 'I parted with him once against my inclination,' said George I., 'and I will never part with him again so long as he is willing to serve me.'

But Walpole was too domineering, and too fully aware of the importance of his own ascendancy to the well-being of the country, to brook a rival in the Government, and one by one his colleagues went over to the Opposition, and organised the party of the 'Patriots' in alliance with the Tories. The hopes of all Walpole's enemies rose high when, in 1727, George I. died on his way to Hanover, and the Prince of Wales ascended the English throne as King George II.

The new King might well be expected to break with his hated father's favourite adviser. But an attempt to replace Walpole by Sir Spencer Compton, the Speaker of the House of Commons, proved so utter a failure that the former Ministers were speedily reinstated. Walpole was now practically supreme. He had been knighted in 1725, and his son had received a peerage. He had immense influence in the House of Commons, the King was friendly, and, above all, the Queen was his firm supporter. Caroline, the gifted wife of George II., was far more truly the ruler of England than her fussy, hot-tempered little husband, whom she managed with

infinite tact, letting him think that he was deciding everything himself. But the people sang,

> 'You may strut, dapper George, but 'twill all be in vain:
> We know 'tis Queen Caroline, not you, who reign,'

and Walpole knew also where the real power lay. For ten years, till Caroline's death in 1737, the Minister governed the King through the Queen. 'If,' he once said to Caroline, 'I have had the merit of giving any good advice to the king, all the merit of making him take it, madam, is entirely your own.'

The chief interest of the reign of George II. lies in the struggle between Walpole and the Opposition, with its three sections: the discontented Whigs, or Patriots, under Carteret, who had been deprived of his Secretaryship of State in 1724, and Pulteney, one of the chief contributors to the *Craftsman;* the Tories, under Bolingbroke and Sir William Wyndham; and the group of young reformers whom Walpole called the 'Boys.' In 1730 even Townshend, who was Secretary of State in the new Ministry, had so violent a quarrel with Walpole that he resigned, and retired from public life.

The first serious check to Walpole's power came in 1733, when he brought in an Excise Bill for levying duties on wine and tobacco as excise from the retailers instead of as customs from the importers at the port of landing. The measure would have made London a free port, besides checking smuggling and increasing the revenue sufficiently to allow of reducing the land tax, and thus conciliating the country gentry. But the nation took fright at the word 'excise,' and the Opposition busily fostered the popular excitement. The scheme was exaggerated into a general excise, with taxes on food and clothing, the ruin of trade, and the

overthrow of Magna Carta and English liberty. The towns were specially disturbed, and London was in a ferment. The King and Queen stood by Walpole, and the Bill passed through its early stages in the House of Commons, but only to be withdrawn. 'The Act,' said Sir Robert, 'could not be carried into execution without an armed force. . . . I will not be the Minister to enforce taxes at the cost of blood.' When the decision was known there was great rejoicing. Men went about with badges labelled 'Liberty, Property, and no Excise' in their hats. The Monument was illuminated, bonfires blazed, and the Queen and Walpole were burnt in effigy. Yet, though the Minister bowed to the force of public opinion, he continued to maintain, and most subsequent statesmen have agreed with him, that the scheme 'would have tended very much to the interest of the nation.'

The general election of 1735 gave Walpole a decided majority, in spite of the machinations of the Opposition, but in 1737, Frederick, Prince of Wales, who had long been on ill terms with his parents, openly broke with them, established himself at Norfolk House with his wife, and became the centre of the Opposition, now reinforced by the witty and polished Lord Chesterfield, who had been dismissed from office after the failure of the Excise Bill. In 1737, too, Walpole's best friend, Queen Caroline, died, commending her husband and children and the kingdom to the care of her 'good Sir Robert.' The great Minister was left alone to face the bitter hostility of a desperate Opposition, strengthened by the growing war-feeling in the country, and the consequent unpopularity of that policy of peace which it is Walpole's great glory to have maintained for twenty years, when peace was of the utmost importance

to the commercial and political development of the nation. Continental war meant high taxes, disturbance to trade, and Jacobite risings at home, and Walpole sought to establish the Hanoverian dynasty on a firm basis, to win over the country gentry by a low land tax, and to give the national credit time to recover after the disasters of the South Sea Scheme. But to do this he had to abandon the traditional Whig policy of foreign intervention, distrust of France, and opposition to the Peace of Utrecht. In spite of the treaties of 1713, Europe had continued to be torn by the ambitions of rival Powers. In 1717 Stanhope had concluded the Triple Alliance of England, France, and Holland, when Spain, under the able Minister, Alberoni, seemed about to endanger the Balance of Power. The Alliance had been joined by Austria in 1718, and by Spain itself in 1719, after Alberoni's fall. But in 1725 Spain and Austria drew together and concluded the First Treaty of Vienna, which was answered by the Treaty of Hanover between England and France and the rising kingdom of Prussia, and in 1729 England and France made terms with Spain in the Treaty of Seville, while in 1731 the Second Treaty of Vienna conciliated the Emperor by guaranteeing the succession of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to the Austrian dominions. In all these negotiations Walpole and the French Minister, Cardinal Fleury, worked strenuously to preserve peace, and when in 1733 the Polish Succession War broke out, England acted as 'the umpire and pacificator of Europe,' till the war was ended by the Third Treaty of Vienna in 1735.

Thus, while the nations of Europe were wrangling and disputing, England rested in profound tranquillity. *Quieta non movere*—which is equivalent to 'Let sleeping dogs lie'—was Walpole's favourite motto, and

if it meant a somewhat unheroic policy, it meant also national prosperity. 'He gave Englishmen no conquests,' writes the great novelist Thackeray, 'but he gave them peace and ease and freedom, the Three per Cents. nearly at par, and wheat at five and six and twenty shillings a quarter.'*

But by 1738 the tide was setting in England too strongly towards war for even Walpole to stem it. By the Treaty of Utrecht England had been permitted to supply Spanish America with slaves, and to send one merchant-ship yearly to the South Seas. These terms had been evaded, a vast smuggling trade had grown up, and the Spaniards had retaliated by searching and capturing English merchant-ships. In 1738 a certain Captain Jenkins, who had lost an ear in a struggle of this kind with the Spaniards, appeared in the House of Commons to demand vengeance. A popular outcry followed. The nation clamoured for war with Spain, and the Opposition swelled the chorus. Walpole in vain protested that hostilities would be unjust and unwise, and that France would join Spain. A feeble attempt to settle matters by negotiation ended, in October, 1739, in a formal declaration of war, which was received in England with wild enthusiasm. 'They are ringing the bells to-day,' said Sir Robert; 'they will soon be wringing their hands.'

It cannot but be regarded as a stain on Walpole's honour that he still clung to office after this decided defeat, and consented to accept the direction of a war which he believed to be unjust. Perhaps he foresaw the confusion which would result when his strong hand was withdrawn. Perhaps he was loth to leave the king whom he had served so long, and to resign

* 'The Four Georges.'

the authority which, on the whole, he had used so well. Whatever his motives, he remained at his post, with an ever lessening band of followers, while the war with Spain dragged ingloriously on, and the death of the Emperor in 1740 was followed by the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession on the Continent. But the end was at hand. In 1741 a motion was brought in by the Opposition to ask the King to dismiss Sir Robert from his presence and counsels for ever. It was defeated, but Walpole knew that his fall could not long be delayed. 'He who was asleep as soon as his head touched the pillow,' wrote his son of him at this time, 'now never sleeps above an hour without waking; and he who at dinner always forgot he was minister, and was more gay and thoughtless than all his company, now sits without speaking, and with his eyes fixed for an hour together.'

When the new Parliament met after the general election of 1741, Pulteney at once attacked Walpole. The old Minister replied with spirit, but his majorities were dwindling, and when, early in 1742, Pulteney demanded a select committee to inquire into the state of affairs and to advise the King, the motion was lost by only three votes. Shortly afterwards Walpole was defeated on the question of the Chippenham election petition. He made private terms with the leaders of the Opposition, and then tendered his resignation, which the King accepted with tears. Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and was awarded a pension of £4,000 a year.

The news of Sir Robert's defeat was received with delight. The mob carried his effigy to the Tower. It was proposed to impeach him, and a Committee was appointed to investigate the last ten years of his ad-

ministration. But the charges against him were trivia or baseless, the King remained his friend, and before long the fallen Minister was exercising almost as much influence as in the days of his ascendancy.

The men who had cried out for his punishment in 1742 were drinking his health in 1743. The ill-assorted Opposition, indeed, fell to pieces in the moment of victory. Bolingbroke returned to France. Pulteney accepted a peerage and refused office, and when at length a Ministry was formed under Lord Wilmington, formerly Sir Spencer Compton, though Carteret was Secretary of State, he had as his colleagues Walpole's followers, the Duke of Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham. Thus, from the first, the Ministry was divided against itself. Carteret, who thought that his business was 'to make kings and emperors, and maintain the balance of Europe,' drew England more decidedly into the war of the Austrian Succession, and won the favour of the King, who, as Elector of Hanover, was keenly interested in Continental politics. But the Pelhams carried on Walpole's peace policy, and they were supported by the people, who had wanted a commercial war with Spain, but now saw themselves involved in a European struggle, and English money going to pay Hanoverian troops for serving the cause of Maria Theresa. On the death of Wilmington in 1743, Henry Pelham became First Lord of the Treasury, and in the following year Carteret found himself forced to resign. One of Walpole's last political actions was to persuade the King to give up Carteret and to rely on the Pelhams. He died on March 18, 1745, in London, and was buried at Houghton, his Norfolk country-seat.

As a statesman, Sir Robert Walpole deserves well of

Englishmen for his long years of devoted service to the interests of his country, and for the tranquillity which he ensured to England when she was threatened with all the dangers of a disputed succession. 'I am proud to own it,' he once said: 'I always have been, and I always shall be, the advocate of peace.' The peace he won for England meant security abroad and prosperity at home. A skilful Parliamentary leader and diplomatist, he held the war party in Parliament and at Court in check for more than twenty years. A first-rate man of business, he conciliated the commercial classes by his mastery of finance. A thorough Englishman, he pleased the country gentry by his reduction of the land-tax and by his sympathy with rural life and sports. If no great measures were passed while he was in power, his cautious moderation prevented panics and riots and the stirring of dangerous passions. Thus, though tolerant in practice, he would not repeal the laws against Dissenters for fear of rousing the Church party to opposition. Thus, too, he abandoned his favourite Excise Scheme rather than provoke the people to anger. It has often been asserted that Walpole's peace policy was only made possible by systematic bribery and corruption, that he had a poor opinion of human nature, thought that 'every man had his price,' and was unscrupulous in his methods of maintaining his authority. That he was guilty of corruption is no doubt true. The standard of public honour was low in the eighteenth century, and Walpole was essentially a man of his age, practical and perhaps not over-delicate in his dealings. But the charge has equally certainly been exaggerated by his many political enemies, and the high-minded statesman Burke, writing some fifty years after Walpole's death, has left it on record that

'he was not, as the Jacobites and discontented Whig of his own time have represented him, and as ill informed people still represent him, a prodigal and corrupt minister. . . . The charge of systematic corruption is less applicable to him, perhaps, than to any minister who ever served the crown for so great a length of time.'

In private life, Walpole was a rough, hearty, genial English country gentleman—a squire of the old school fond of feasting and drinking, farming and gardening horses and dogs. He was so devoted to sport that he would open his gamekeeper's letters even before those of the King, and the lavish hospitality of his hunting parties at Houghton, the splendid house which he built for himself in Norfolk, was long remembered. Yet it would be unjust to regard Sir Robert as a mere uncultivated boor. He was fond of society, and a gay and cheerful companion, with a ringing laugh and a jovial humour. Pope, the friend of Bolingbroke, paid a graceful compliment to Bolingbroke's rival when he wrote:

> 'Seen him I have; but in his happier hour
> Of social pleasure ill-exchanged for power;
> Seen him uncumbered with the venal tribe,
> Smile without art, and win without a bribe.'

Though he cared little for literature, and has been reproached with neglecting men of letters, Walpole was a good judge of pictures, and formed a valuable collection of paintings at Houghton. Though he was neither a great scholar nor a great orator, he was a sound and forcible public speaker, with plenty of shrewd mother-wit and common-sense. His eloquence, said his son, was made for use, and if his speeches lacked brilliancy and imagination, he excelled in explaining difficult subjects clearly.

The 'great Walpolean battle' left Sir Robert defeated

but not disgraced. 'He retired,' says Lord Macaulay, 'after more than twenty years of power, with a temper not soured, with a heart not hardened, with simple tastes, with frank manners, and with a capacity for friendship. No stain of treachery, of ingratitude, or of cruelty rests on his memory.'

From Burke's 'Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.'

[*A description of Sir Robert Walpole.*]

Without being a genius of the first class, he was an intelligent, prudent, and safe minister. He loved peace; and he helped to communicate the same disposition to nations at least as warlike and restless as that in which he had the direction of affairs. . . . The profound repose, the equal liberty, the firm protection of just laws during the long period of his power, were the principal causes of that prosperity which afterwards took such rapid strides towards perfection; and which furnished to this nation ability to acquire the military glory which it has since obtained, as well as to bear the burthens, the cause and consequence of that warlike reputation. With many virtues, public and private, he had his faults; but his faults were superficial. A careless, coarse, and over-familiar style of discourse, without sufficient regard to persons or occasions, and an almost total want of political decorum, were the errors by which he was most hurt in the public opinion, and those through which his enemies obtained the greatest advantage over him. But justice must be done. The prudence, steadiness, and vigilance of that man, joined to the greatest possible lenity in his character and his politics, preserved the crown to this royal family; and with it their laws and liberties to this country.

JOHN WESLEY, THE 'METHODIST.'

(1703—1791.)

WARS and treaties, political intrigues and party struggles form, at best, but a small part of the true history of a nation. While Walpole's long Ministry was drawing to its troubled close, amidst the strife of factions and the rumours of war, a great religious revolution was transforming English society.

The year 1739, which saw the outbreak of the war of 'Jenkins' Ear,' saw also two events of far more real importance to the future development of the English people. In February George Whitefield preached his first open-air sermon to the Kingswood colliers. In May John Wesley founded the first Methodist chapel in London, and embodied the new spiritual force in an organised society.

The Church of England had lost under the two first Hanoverian sovereigns the zeal which had animated it in the reign of Queen Anne, and in becoming more tolerant had become also less fervent. A sceptical spirit was abroad, the authority of the Bible was attacked, and Christianity was regarded rather as a useful code of morals than as a living faith. The bishops were often mere politicians, hangers-on of the leading Whig statesmen, and the country clergy were poor, ill-educated, and worldly. Meanwhile, cynicism, indifference, and reckless carelessness of life distinguished the upper classes of society, and the lower

classes were sunk in gross ignorance and vice. No doubt there were exceptions to the prevailing irreligion. Learning and piety were still to be found in the Church,

JOHN WESLEY.

(From the painting by Nathaniel Hone, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery.)

and if there was less enthusiasm than of old, there was less narrowness and more charity towards opponents.

The response to the teaching of Wesley and Whitefield is evidence in itself that the religious feeling of England only needed rousing. But the weakness of the Church of the eighteenth century lay in its cold, unimpassioned character. It spoke to the reason, but left the heart untouched. The success of the Methodist revival was due to its direct appeal to the deepest human emotions, its power to move the inmost souls of men, and to awaken the passions of fear and hope and love.

John Wesley was born in 1703 in his father's rectory of Epworth, in Lincolnshire. His parents, who were of Nonconformist stock, brought up their children with Puritan strictness, and John early developed an almost morbid sensitiveness of conscience. He was educated at the Charterhouse and at Oxford, where he took Orders, and, at the age of twenty-three, became a Fellow of Lincoln College. From 1729 to 1735 he was the leading spirit of the little society of Oxford students which his brother Charles had organised for religious observances and good works. The 'Methodists,' as the undergraduates nicknamed their serious-minded methodical companions, communicated every week, fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays, read the Bible together, visited the sick and the prisoners in gaol, and led a life of severe self-denial and abstinence. In 1735 the two young Wesleys left Oxford to go as missionaries to Georgia, the North American colony which the philanthropic General Oglethorpe had just founded to provide a refuge for needy persons, and to exercise a civilizing influence over the Indians. Here however, John Wesley, by his somewhat aggressive zeal and his High Church tendencies, made many enemies among the colonists, and early in 1738 he returned to England. His Georgian experiences had

brought him into contact with the sect of the Moravians, and he now fell under the influence of a Moravian teacher, from whom he learnt his distinctive doctrine of justification by faith, and came to believe that only by a 'conversion,' or a supernatural assurance of pardon and freedom from sin, could men find salvation. Wesley himself received this assurance in May, 1738, and his brother Charles was 'converted' somewhat earlier. They at once began to preach the new doctrine throughout England with the utmost fervour. Methodist societies sprang up, in which the old Christian love-feasts were revived, sins were confessed, and whole nights were passed in devotion. Excited crowds flocked to hear the preachers, who thrilled them with the dread of punishment, or melted them to tears of remorse and tremulous hope. Before long most of the English pulpits were closed to the teachers of such agitating doctrines, and the Methodists found themselves compelled to address the people in the open air, on hillsides or commons, or in public parks, at race-meetings, fairs, and markets. John Wesley, whose strict orthodoxy at first shrank from the idea of field-preaching, thinking the saving of souls almost a sin if it were not done in a church, was himself driven to speak from his father's tomb in Epworth churchyard, when he was forbidden to enter the pulpit of the church. Special Methodist chapels were also built, and in 1741 an order of lay preachers was instituted to meet the need for an increased supply of teachers. But the early Methodists were far from wishing to break away from the Church of England. The two Wesleys and Whitefield were ordained clergymen who fully accepted the Anglican doctrines, and repudiated the title of Dissenters. Only they desired to quicken the stagnation of religious life in England,

and in stirring the currents of emotion they overthrew the old conventional boundaries, and shocked the orderly decorous clergy, whose quiet parishes they disturbed. Unfortunately, the organisation of the Church was too rigid to admit such irregular enthusiasts, and gradually but surely the Methodists were forced into separation.

The new teaching was met, at the outset, by a storm of persecution. Rude mobs stoned, ducked, and cudgelled the preachers, drenched them with dirty water, pelted them with rotten eggs, or drowned their sermons with bell-ringing, drum-beating, and horn-blowing. Magistrates treated them as vagrants and disorderly persons, while the pulpit and the Press rang with denunciations of the new sect as Dissenters, as secret Papists, or as hypocrites and 'mountebanks.' Yet the movement steadily gained ground, guided by the organising genius of John Wesley, inspired by the delicate fancy and poetic imagination of Charles Wesley, the hymn-writer, and stimulated by the fiery eloquence of the unrivalled popular preacher, Whitefield.

George Whitefield, the son of a Gloucester innkeeper, showed from his childhood the ardent devotional spirit which, combined with remarkable dramatic power, made him in after-days so great an orator. He made the acquaintance of Charles Wesley at Oxford, joined the Methodist Society, and subsequently followed the Wesleys to Georgia. By 1738 he was back in England, and it was he who first tried the experiment of field-preaching, in his famous address to the colliers of Kingswood, near Bristol, when, as he spoke, he saw the tears making white furrows in the blackened cheeks of his hearers. His fame as an itinerant preache

soon spread through the United Kingdom. His energy was untiring. He would preach from forty to sixty hours in a week, and it is said that in thirty-four years he delivered 18,000 sermons to immense audiences. His graceful figure, the beauty and appropriateness of his gestures, and his sweet and flexible voice, added charm to the passionate pleading which he poured forth with all the force of a profound conviction. 'A preacher,' he said, 'whenever he entered the pulpit, should look upon it as the last time he might preach, and the last time his people might hear.' Constantly melted to tears himself, he roused the passions of his hearers to their highest pitch, and often moved almost the whole congregation to weep with him. It was, indeed, a matter of reproach to the Methodists that their preaching threw men and women into convulsions and hysterics, and produced deep religious depression and even madness. But it was just the emotional and dramatic character of the revival which made it so successful with uneducated and impressionable peasants, while the belief in the direct and miraculous intervention of God on behalf of His servants gave the Methodists that exalting and sustaining sense of being a chosen people which they shared with the Puritans of the seventeenth century. John Wesley himself saw Divine judgments in the sickness and death of his enemies, and was a firm believer in miraculous cures, ghostly visitations, and supernatural warnings. Like the Puritans, too, the Methodists waged war on amusements and sports of all kinds. Dancing, theatre-going, revels at fairs and wakes, and even the innocent games of children, were condemned. 'He that plays when he is a child will play when he is a man,' said Wesley; and he, like Whitefield, set his disciples an example of

unflagging effort and stern asceticism. Inferior in eloquence to Whitefield, though a most impressive and convincing preacher, he was his superior in administrative power and in the art of managing and directing large bodies of men. His long life was spent in incessant travelling, preaching and organising, moderating excited enthusiasts, facing savage mobs, governing and regulating the widespread society to which he had given birth, and dealing with the many difficulties of doctrine and discipline which arose among his followers. Always cheerful and tranquil, always dressed with extreme neatness and care, there was nothing of the fanatic or the revolutionist in his appearance and manner. 'I do not remember,' he once wrote, 'to have felt lowness of spirits for a quarter of an hour since I was born.' His vitality and power of enduring fatigue were extraordinary. He rose before dawn, and often preached at five o'clock in the morning. At the age of eighty-seven he rode seventy miles in one day, and he continued his labours to the very end of his strenuous life.

There was little in the first beginnings of Methodism to indicate the marvellous successes of its future. Internal dissensions distracted the society, and the growing Calvinism of Whitefield led to a rupture between him and the Wesleys and to the secession of the Calvinistic Methodists from the main body. But in spite of drawbacks the work went forward, and by degrees the lower and middle classes were won over, and a moral revolution was wrought in English social life. The miners of Cornwall and the North, once the bitterest opponents of Methodism, became its devoted adherents. In Wales, after a long struggle, the Methodists were completely triumphant. Their doctrine

were carried to Scotland and Ireland, and were widely accepted in the American colonies. Methodism invaded the army and the Universities, and even penetrated into fashionable society, under the patronage of the Countess of Huntingdon, who appointed Whitefield her chaplain. It was in Lady Huntingdon's drawing-room that Bolingbroke heard Whitefield preach, and Horace Walpole, Sir Robert's witty, cynical son, wrote in 1749 that Methodism 'increases as fast as almost ever any religious nonsense did.'

In the moral and philanthropic reforms which distinguished the later eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth century the Methodists and their disciples, the 'Evangelical' Churchmen, took an active part. Manners were softened and refined, and literature and the drama became less coarse in tone. Efforts were made to alleviate suffering and to remedy social evils. Hospitals and asylums were built; missionary societies and societies for the diffusion of religious knowledge were founded, and Sunday-schools were established; the horrors of the prison system were exposed by the devoted John Howard, and Wilberforce and Clarkson organised that crusade against the slave trade which resulted in its abolition in 1807. With all these movements Wesley warmly sympathized, and his influence did much to stimulate the spirit of benevolence in England. But it was, perhaps, in the Established Church that the most striking effects of the religious revival were seen. The piety and enthusiasm of the Methodists reacted on the parent Church, shamed the clergy out of their apathy, and led to that great Evangelical movement which made the Church of England once more a spiritual force in the national life. Wesley, indeed, though he drifted far from his

original opinions, never ceased to look on himself as a clergyman of the Established Church. 'I live and die a member of the Church of England,' he wrote in the last year of his life, 'and no one who regards my judgment or advice will ever separate from it.' For many years clergymen of the Church of England officiated freely in Methodist chapels, and Wesley in his latter days often preached from Anglican pulpits. When the Wesleyans definitely seceded and formed a separate Nonconformist sect, their teaching and example had already roused a more passionate devotion among the orthodox clergy, and the 'Evangelical' party had become the leader of religious activity in the English Church.

THE TWO PITTS:

William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, 1708—1778; William Pitt the Younger, 1759—1806.

The struggle between Whigs and Tories in the early years of the eighteenth century resulted in a decided victory for the Whigs. The Tories were disunited, and discredited by their Jacobite connections. The great Whig families, wealthy and influential, and already in a majority in the House of Lords, deliberately set themselves to win a complete Parliamentary ascendancy by buying up corrupt boroughs, distributing patronage, and thus filling the House of Commons with their supporters. But the victors soon fell to quarrelling among themselves. After Walpole's resignation Parliament was torn by the dissensions of rival sections of the Whig party, each following a particular leader, and all moved by ambition and self-interest rather than by principle. The country was really passing through a period of transition. The old dynastic interests were dying out, and the new national interests had not yet arisen to take their place. The Hanoverian Succession was assured. Jacobitism ceased to be a practical danger or a cause worth fighting for after the failure of the rising of 1745, when Prince Charles Edward, the son of the 'Old Pretender,' rallied the Highland clans to his standard, proclaimed James III. in Edinburgh, and crossed the Border, only to retreat ignominiously, and, after some successes, to suffer a final

WILLIAM PITT, FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM (1708-1778).

(*From the painting by Richard Brompton in the National Portrait Gallery, London.*)

and crushing defeat at the Battle of Culloden. The burning questions of the future — the limits of the 'Expansion of England,' her place as a naval power, and the development of her Colonial Empire—only came home to Englishmen in the course of a long struggle with France for supremacy in India and in North America and for the command of the sea. But the French War roused a feeling of patriotism and enthusiasm in England, and the personal feuds of politicians were sunk for a time in the sense of a national danger. 'The reign of George II.,' says a great modern historian,* 'was in its early part one of the most prosperous and tranquil, and in its latter part one of the most glorious periods of English history.' If the prosperity and tranquillity were mainly due to Robert Walpole, the glory will always be associated with the name of 'the Great Commoner,' William Pitt.

William Pitt, a young officer of dragoons who entered Parliament in 1735, was the most brilliant of the little band of 'Boy Patriots.' Deprived of his regiment in 1737 for supporting the Prince of Wales, he attached himself to the Pelhams after Walpole's fall, and opposed Carteret's foreign policy. In 1746 the King, after a futile attempt to form a Ministry under Pulteney, now Earl of Bath, and Carteret, resigned himself to the Pelham ascendancy, and Pitt became Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and, shortly afterwards, Paymaster of the Forces. Under Henry Pelham England enjoyed peace at home and abroad. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle terminated the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748, and the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales in 1751 ended the schism in the royal family. But when, on

* Lecky, 'History of England in the Eighteenth Century,' vol. ii., p. 448.

Pelham's death in 1754, his incapable brother, the Duke of Newcastle, became First Lord of the Treasury, all was confusion. Newcastle, who owed his position to his family influence and wealth, was, though quite unfit to govern, jealous of trusting power to stronger men than himself, and Pitt, feeling his talents slighted, joined the unscrupulous Henry Fox in harassing and exposing their incompetent leader. But the times were becoming too critical to allow of weakness and disunion in the Government. Hostilities broke out between the French and English in North America in 1755, and a general war was imminent. Pitt opposed the King's policy of subsidising Continental powers for the defence of Hanover, and was dismissed. Fox made terms with Newcastle, and became Secretary of State. The year 1756 saw a complete change in the grouping of European Powers, when in the Treaty of Westminster England allied herself with the rising kingdom of Prussia, while France and Austria drew together in the First Treaty of Versailles. In September Frederick II., the gifted King of Prussia, invaded Saxony, and the conflict between France and England widened into the European struggle of the Seven Years' War. Meanwhile the French had formally declared war against England, and had captured Minorca, which had been in English hands since the Peace of Utrecht. The indignation which this disaster aroused in England brought about the fall of the Ministry. Fox resigned, and Newcastle, after vain overtures to Pitt, retired from office in November, and was succeeded by the Duke of Devonshire, with Pitt as Secretary of State. In April, 1757, however, the King, who hated the new Ministers, peremptorily dismissed them, and in the following June Newcastle was restored to power, while Pitt consented to

be Secretary of State in his Ministry, with Fox as Paymaster of the Forces. 'I borrowed the Duke of Newcastle's majority,' said Pitt, 'to carry on the business of the country.' 'I am sure,' he said on another occasion, 'that I can save the country and that no one else can.' This was no idle boast. He was the real ruler of England from 1757 to his resignation in 1761, and 'the ardour of his soul set the whole kingdom on fire.'* Strong in the sense of his own great powers, quick to recognise and employ genius in others, inspired by the loftiest patriotism and the most ardent love for England, he aroused a like spirit in his countrymen. 'No man ever entered his closet who did not come out of it a braver man.' 'I want,' he said, 'to call this country out of that enervated state that twenty thousand men from France can shake it.' The country responded to his appeal. 'We are no longer a nation,' wrote Lord Chesterfield in 1757: 'I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect.' Three years later England was mistress of the seas, and supreme both in North America and in India. In 1759 General Wolfe crowned the successes of the previous year in North America by taking Quebec and ensuring the conquest of Canada. In the same year the defeat of the French by British troops at Minden, and the naval victories of Lagos and Quiberon Bay, raised the enthusiasm in England to the highest pitch, while English support enabled Frederick of Prussia to make head against overwhelming odds, and to save his kingdom from destruction by his unrivalled military genius. Meanwhile 'the heaven-born General' Clive was wresting the dominion of India from the French and the native princes by a succession of victories. Bengal was won in 1757 by the defeat of the

* Lord Macaulay.

Viceroy Surajah Dowlah at Plassey, and in 1760 Colonel Coote's victory of Wandewash made the English supreme in Madras and practically destroyed the French power in India.

But in 1760 Pitt's ascendancy ended with the death of George II. and the accession of his grandson, George III. The young king was English by birth and breeding, virtuous, brave, and patriotic, but obstinate, narrow-minded, and ignorant. Imbued with high notions of the royal prerogative, and versed in the doctrines of Bolingbroke's 'Patriot King,' he was resolved to obey his mother's constant injunction, 'George, be a king.' He aimed at reducing the power of the great Whig families, and ruling irrespective of party through Ministers of his own choice. Unfortunately, his ideal form of government was a beneficent despotism, and he chose as his confidential Minister a Scotchman of very inferior capacity, the Earl of Bute, who became Secretary of State in 1761. Some months later Pitt resigned office. Persuaded of the existence of a 'Family Compact' between the French and Spanish branches of the House of Bourbon, he had urged an immediate declaration of war against Spain. But the King and Bute were all for peace, and Pitt was defeated. He retired with dignity, though by accepting a pension and a title for his wife he somewhat lessened his influence with the nation. He was soon, however, restored to popularity when the alliance between France and Spain was avowed, and England was forced, after all, to enter upon a Spanish war.

Early in the year 1762 Bute replaced Newcastle as First Lord of the Treasury, and pressed on negotiations for peace by all the means in his power. Opposition in Parliament was silenced by bribes and threats, and in

1763 the Peace of Paris was signed. England recovered Minorca and retained her North American conquests, but the French secured important fishing rights on the North American coast, and there was a general feeling that the advantages won by the English were less than might have been expected after such unexampled military successes. Bute became more and more unpopular, and in April, 1763, he resigned, and his place was taken by George Grenville, Pitt's brother-in-law.

Grenville's Ministry is chiefly memorable for two measures which had far-reaching consequences: the prosecution of Wilkes, and the American Stamp Act. Wilkes, a Member of Parliament, attacked the king's speech on the Peace in his paper, the *North Briton*, and was arrested for libel under a 'General Warrant,' by which general powers of arrest were conferred without naming particular persons. He was further expelled from the House of Commons for libel and for writing a blasphemous poem. The law-courts declared General Warrants to be illegal, but outlawed Wilkes for not appearing to answer the charges against him. The severity of this treatment transformed the scurrilous pamphleteer into a political martyr and popular hero.

By the Stamp Act of 1765 Grenville hoped to raise money to maintain a permanent army for the defence of the American colonies by levying duties on the stamps affixed to legal documents in America. The colonists disputed the right of the English Parliament to raise an internal tax in America. Internal taxation, they held, belonged exclusively to the Colonial Assemblies. The cry of 'No taxation without representation' was raised, and the Act met with a determined resistance. The Grenville Ministry fell in the midst of the agitation, the old Whig party came in under Lord

Rockingham, and in 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed, though at the same time a Declaratory Act affirmed the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. In the debate on the Repeal Pitt made one of his finest appeals on behalf of constitutional liberty. 'I rejoice,' he cried, 'that America has resisted. . . . If ever this nation should have a tyrant for its king, six millions of freemen so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest.'

In the debates on the Spanish War, the Peace, and the expulsion of Wilkes, Pitt had also taken a leading part, and overtures were made to him more than once to resume office, but it was not till July, 1766, that he consented to form a joint Ministry of Whigs and 'King's Friends,' as the new Court party was called. The Duke of Grafton was First Lord of the Treasury, the brilliant Charles Townshend was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord North, the leader of the 'King's Friends,' was Paymaster.

But Pitt lost much of his power over the Commons and the nation at large by accepting the Earldom of Chatham and retiring to the House of Lords. He was no longer 'the Great Commoner.' The ill-health which had beset him all through life was increasing, the factions in the Government needed a strong hand to curb them, and on the Continent, where he tried to form an alliance of the Northern Powers against the Bourbons, Prussia held coldly aloof. In the spring of 1768 Chatham became too ill to attend to business, and in his absence Charles Townshend passed his famous Bill for taxing tea, glass, paper, lead, and painters' colours imported into America, at the ports of entry. In the autumn Chatham resigned, just as the

country was convulsed by the imprisonment and expulsion from Parliament of Wilkes, who had returned from exile, to be elected member for Middlesex. When the Middlesex electors returned him a second time, he was declared incapable of sitting in that Parliament. When they persisted in re-electing him, the House of Commons, by a most arbitrary stretch of authority, awarded his seat to his defeated opponent, Colonel Luttrell. This created a popular ferment in England, which found expression in the anonymous 'Letters of Junius.' Meanwhile America was agitated by Townshend's taxes, and Chatham was thundering against the Ministry in the House of Lords. In 1770 Grafton resigned, and as the Whigs were too disorganised to form an administration, George III. was able to place Lord North at the head of affairs, and to realise his dream of personal government through a devoted Minister.

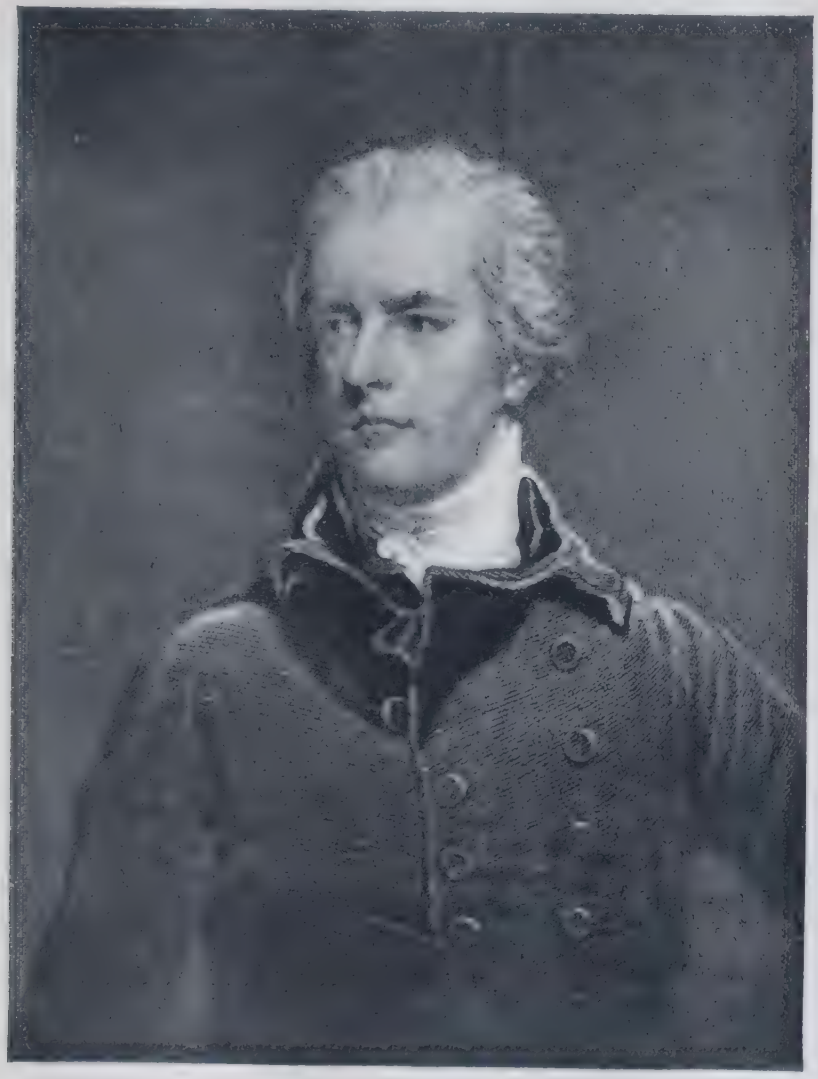
Already the spark was lighted which was to kindle the flame of civil war. The obnoxious American taxes had been repealed, with the exception of the tax on tea. When the East Indian tea-ships arrived at Boston they were boarded by men disguised as Indians, who threw the cargoes into the sea. The English Government retaliated by closing the Port of Boston and altering the Charter of Massachusetts. The oppression of one State was felt as the oppression of all. A representative Congress met at Philadelphia in 1774, and issued a Declaration of Rights. The colonies sprang to arms under Colonel George Washington. The first blood was shed in a skirmish at Lexington in April, 1775. On July 4, 1776, the insurgents issued the Declaration of Independence, and in October, 1777, the English general, Burgoyne, with his whole army, surrendered

at Saratoga, while early in 1778 France entered into an alliance with the rebel States.

Chatham had vainly pleaded for a more conciliatory policy towards America. 'Adopt,' he urged, 'the grace, while you have the opportunity, of reconcilement.' But he was opposed to the recognition of the independence of the colonies, especially when such recognition might be construed into fear of France. The English people, in their distress, were looking to him for guidance, and Lord North would have resigned in his favour if George III. had permitted it. But England was destined to lose her wisest statesman in her moment of greatest need. On April 6, 1778, when the Duke of Richmond brought forward a motion to recognise the independence of America, Chatham came down to the House of Lords for the last time to oppose it. 'I rejoice,' he said, 'that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. . . . In God's Name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? . . . Let us at least make an effort: and if we must fall, let us fall like men!' Richmond replied, and Chatham rose again, pressed his hand to his heart, and fell swooning. A few weeks later, on May 11, 1778, he breathed his last at his country-house at Hayes.

A great war minister, a marvellous orator, and a disinterested politician, Chatham was, as a friend once wrote to him, 'possessed of a dignity never conferred on any other man—that of being deemed, and even called, the People's Minister.' He had many faults—a pride and arrogance which made it difficult to work

with him, a pompous and theatrical manner, a love of display, and a hasty and irritable temper—but these were more than outweighed by his high sense of honour,



THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

(*From the portrait by John Hoppner.*)

his pure and lofty character, his intense and burning patriotism, and his devotion to his country. 'The moment is come when every man ought to show himself

for the whole,' he said, when war was declared against Spain. 'Be one people! Forget everything but the public! For the public I forget both my wrongs and my infirmities.'

Chatham's title and seat in the House of Lords passed to his eldest son, but it was his younger son and namesake who inherited his political genius and ideals. Born in 1759, the most glorious year of his father's famous Ministry, William Pitt the younger was a politician from the cradle. The weakness of his health seemed only to quicken the activity of his mind, and his father's careful training developed his natural gift of fluent and dignified speech. When he went to Cambridge at the age of fourteen young Pitt was already a good classical scholar. At seventeen he took his degree, and at eighteen he was returned to Parliament by the borough of Appleby. 'He went into the House of Commons,' says one of his biographers,* 'as an heir enters into his home. . . . For it, and it alone, had the consummate Chatham trained him from his birth.'

When Pitt entered Parliament Lord North's administration was tottering to its fall amidst discontent at home, disturbance in Ireland, and riots in London over the Acts for the relief of the Roman Catholics, while abroad Spain and Holland had joined France against England, and the American War had expanded into a general struggle for the empire of the sea. The English cause seemed lost when in October, 1781, Lord Cornwallis, who commanded the British forces in South America, surrendered at Yorktown. 'O God, it is all over!' cried Lord North when the fatal news arrived; and in March, 1782, he forced his resignation on the unwilling King. George III.'s attempt at personal govern-

* Lord Rosebery.

ment had failed utterly. He was forced to fall back on a coalition of 'Chatham Whigs' and 'Rockingham Whigs,' under Lord Rockingham himself. Negotiations for peace were opened with somewhat brighter prospects, for the year 1782 saw Rodney's great naval victory off St. Lucia and Elliott's successful defence of Gibraltar.

In April, 1783, the thirteen 'United States' of America made peace with England, and in the following September the Treaty of Versailles ended the war with France, Spain, and Holland. But the Whig Government was divided against itself, and when Rockingham died in July, 1783, Charles Fox quarrelled with his fellow Secretary of State, Lord Shelburne, and resigned, with the majority of the Rockingham Whigs. Shelburne now formed a Ministry, and Pitt became Chancellor of the Exchequer. But in nine months the new Government fell, and was followed by the 'Unnatural Coalition' of the former enemies, Lord North and Charles Fox, under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland. This administration was in its turn wrecked by a Bill brought in by Fox to reorganise the Government of India, which gave great offence to the King, who declared that 'whoever voted for the Bill . . . would be considered as his enemy.' The Lords threw out the Bill, and the King dismissed the Coalition, and appealed to Pitt to take office. Thus, before he was twenty-five Pitt found himself First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a weak Cabinet and a strong Opposition commanding a majority in the Commons, and mocking at the new Government as children playing at Ministers. But the general election of 1784 showed that the country was with Pitt and the King, and reduced the Whigs to a minority in Parliament.

Pitt now entered on that Ministry of seventeen years which was to establish the ascendancy of the new Tory party in England. His great rival, the leader of the advanced Whigs, was Charles James Fox, the son of the notorious Henry Fox, a man of strangely mingled nature, a drunkard and gambler, reckless and unprincipled, yet a scholar and an unequalled debater, with a lively wit, a tender heart, a sweet temper, and a ready sympathy for the weak and oppressed. During the first ten years of Pitt's administration he showed himself a great peace minister and financier, the friend of constitutional progress and commercial expansion. He reorganised the system of internal taxation, established a Sinking Fund for gradually paying off the National Debt, concluded a commercial treaty with France on a Free Trade basis, and was only prevented by English jealousy and Irish distrust from extending commercial freedom to Ireland. Parliamentary reform, religious toleration, and the abolition of the slave trade, all found a place in his programme. He gave Canada a large share of self-government, passed an India Bill which placed the old East India Company under the control of the English Privy Council, and sanctioned the impeachment for misgovernment of the Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings. Abroad, he kept England at peace, restored something of her old prestige, and entered once more into friendly relations with Prussia and Holland.

In 1788 George III.'s temporary insanity seemed about to place the Regency in the hands of Pitt's declared enemy, the Prince of Wales, when the King's rapid recovery averted the danger. But though Pitt retained power, he was forced to abandon his wise policy of 'peace, retrenchment, and reform,' for a cloud

was rising on the Continent which was destined to darken all Europe with the shadows of war and revolution. In May, 1789, the King of France, Louis XVI., was forced by want of money to summon the States-General, or Central Assembly of France, which had not met for nearly two centuries, and the long pent-up discontent of the French people found a voice. In July the Bastille, the State prison, was destroyed by the Paris mob, and the French Revolution began. At first the English felt considerable sympathy for the efforts of the French to win constitutional liberty, but when the Revolutionists overthrew the monarchy, proclaimed a Republic, massacred the aristocracy, and finally, in 1793, executed the King and Queen, a thrill of horror ran through England, and the tide of popular feeling turned against the bloodstained French Republic. Many of the moderate Whigs, including the great orator Burke, went over to the Tories, while Fox and the advanced Liberals justified the French atrocities, and formed Revolutionary Societies in England for the expression of their views. Thus the Whig party became more disorganised than ever, while the Tory party was strengthened and consolidated, and at the same time narrowed and hardened, for the excesses of the Revolution changed Pitt's policy of reform into a policy of reaction and repression.

In 1793 the French Republic declared war with England and Holland, and a Coalition of European Powers was formed against the common enemy, France. England pursued her old policy of subsidising her Continental allies, and carrying on a naval and colonial war. She thus won complete supremacy in India, and occupied Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope. But her allies gradually dropped off and came to terms with

the victorious French Republic, and she was left alone to face the united forces of France, Spain, and Holland, directed by the extraordinary military genius of Napoleon Buonaparte, now entering on his career of unparalleled success. In 1796 England was threatened with invasion, and in 1797 she was only saved by her naval victories over the Spanish and Dutch fleets at Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown. In 1798 Napoleon invaded Egypt, wishing to strike a blow at England in her Indian dominions, but an English squadron under Admiral Nelson followed him to Aboukir Bay, and in the Battle of the Nile almost destroyed the French fleet and shut up Buonaparte and his army in Egypt. This success enabled Pitt to form a second European Coalition against France, and the French were driven out of Italy. But Napoleon, after vainly besieging the English garrison in Acre, left his army, hurried back to France, and with the help of his supporters in Paris, established a new form of government which was really a military despotism, with Buonaparte as supreme ruler, under the title of 'First Consul.' In 1800 his splendid victories of Marengo and Hohenlinden won back Italy, compelled Austria to make peace, and dissolved the Coalition. England, however, took Malta and drove the French out of Egypt, and the attempt to close the Baltic to English trade by the 'Armed Neutrality' of the Northern Powers was defeated by Nelson in the Battle of Copenhagen. In March, 1802, the Peace of Amiens gave England a breathing-space in the long struggle.

Meanwhile, at home disaffection was active. In 1793 the Traitorous Correspondence Act, and in 1795 the Treasonable Practices Bill and the Seditious Meetings Bill, extended the penalties of treason and checked the liberty of free speech and free meeting, while

agitators were arrested in Scotland and England, Revolutionary Societies were dispersed, and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. How grave was the danger was seen when, in 1797, at the moment when a naval invasion was imminent, a mutiny in the fleets at Spithead and the Nore imperilled England's very existence.

But it was in Ireland that the outlook was gloomiest. In 1782 the Irish had taken advantage of the American War to wrest complete legislative independence for their Parliament from England. Ten years later the Irish Roman Catholics were admitted to the franchise and to juries, and many of their disabilities were removed. But enough remained to make both the Romanists and the Protestant Nonconformists discontented, and to lead them to look to France for aid. Secret Societies were formed, chief amongst them the 'United Irishmen,' and in 1796 the French made an abortive attempt to land in Ireland. The loyal Northern Protestants, the 'Orangemen,' now enrolled themselves in regiments of yeomanry, and were employed to disarm the Romanists. Much ill-feeling was roused, and the arrest of the central committee of the 'United Irishmen' was followed, in May, 1798, by the outbreak of a long-planned revolt. The French, however, landed too late to be of service, the North remained loyal, the insurgents were defeated at the Battle of Vinegar Hill, and the rebellion was stamped out in blood. 'We must, I think,' said Pitt, 'follow up such an event by immediate steps for a union.' His scheme was to incorporate the Irish Parliament in the Parliament of Great Britain, to take away from the Irish the legislative independence which had produced nothing but faction and disorder, but to give 'Emancipation,' or full political and civil rights, to the Irish Catholics.

But the consent of the Irish Houses was necessary for their own extinction, and it was only by wholesale bribery, excessive even in that age of corruption, that this could be won. On February 18, 1800, a purchased majority in the Irish Parliament passed the Bill for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Ireland received a proportionate share of representation in the United Parliament, and complete freedom of trade was established with England. Unfortunately, however, the stubborn opposition of the King prevented Pitt from carrying the Bill for Catholic Emancipation which he brought forward in 1801, and the great Minister resigned, and was replaced by Addington, a man of the most limited ability, to whom it fell to conclude the arrangements for the Peace of Amiens.

The shock of parting with his old servant brought on a fresh attack of the King's insanity, and on his recovery, Pitt promised not to bring forward Catholic Emancipation again during George the Third's lifetime. He loyally supported the new Government, too, but it soon became evident that the peace was a mere truce that Napoleon was meditating a fresh attack on England, and that a stronger hand than that of Addington would be needed at the helm of State.

In May, 1803, war with France was declared, and the last phase began of that great struggle between France and England for commercial supremacy in the New World and India, and for the empire of the sea of which the European and American wars of the eighteenth century all really formed part. All eyes were now turned to Pitt, and though his health was fast declining, he consented to form a Government. On May 18, 1804, the day that he took his seat as Prime Minister, Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of the French.

While Buonaparte gathered ships and men at Boulogne for an invasion of England, Pitt formed a Third Coalition with Austria and Russia, in which England was to provide fleets and money, while the Continental Powers raised vast land armies. Napoleon's scheme of invasion was foiled by the defeat of the French off Cape Finisterre, while the great victory of Trafalgar, in which Nelson lost his life, practically destroyed Admiral Villeneuve's fleet, and struck a heavy blow at the naval power of France. But on the Continent the French army marched from victory to victory, and the Austrians, defeated at Ulm in November, 1805, and crushed, with their Russian allies, a month later in the Battle of Austerlitz, were forced to abandon the Coalition and sue for peace.

The news of Austerlitz broke Pitt's heart. 'Roll up that map,' he said, pointing to the map of Europe; 'it will not be wanted these ten years.' On January 23, 1806, he passed away at Putney, murmuring, almost with his last breath: 'Oh, my country! how I leave my country!' He was laid by his father's side in Westminster Abbey. 'What sepulchre,' cried his friend Lord Wellesley, 'embosoms the remains of so much excellence and so much glory?'

It was said of Pitt, when he first spoke in the House of Commons, that he was 'not a chip of the old block,' but 'the old block itself.' Alike in eloquence and in lofty purity of principle, Chatham and his famous son were also one in their unswerving devotion to their country and in their unconquerable belief in the future greatness of England. 'Europe is not to be saved by any single man,' said Pitt, when his health was drunk as the saviour of his country; 'England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example.' This, his last public speech,

was of the nature of a prophecy. Through the dark years which followed his death, England 'saved herself' by dogged persistence from falling a victim to the world-conqueror Buonaparte, whose yoke lay heavy on every other European State. Then, when at last Napoleon's tyranny had roused the slumbering spirit of nationality in the countries he had subjugated, England's example 'saved Europe,' and the Continental Powers joined her in overthrowing the despot. In 1808 the Spaniards rose against the French, and asked help of the English, and the long Peninsular War, which did much to sap Napoleon's strength, began. In 1812 the French invasion of Russia ended in disaster and defeat. Prussia and Austria allied themselves with Russia against Napoleon, and their great victory of Leipzig, in 1813, was followed in 1814 by Napoleon's abdication. He retired to the island of Elba, only to escape in the following year, to make one more bid for power, and to suffer his final defeat at the hands of England and Prussia in the Battle of Waterloo. Pitt's hopes were realised; his confidence in his country was justified.

The Peace of Paris, which followed the victory of Waterloo, left England without question the leading naval, colonial, and commercial Power of Europe. Under the shadow of the war, indeed, a silent social revolution had been going forward which was rapidly transforming the agricultural England of the eighteenth century into the industrial England of modern times. A succession of inventions and discoveries enormously increased the national wealth, and enabled England to bear the strain on her resources of the long and costly struggle with France. 'The triumphant issue of the great French war,' says Mr. Lecky, 'was largely, if not mainly, due to the cotton-mill and the steam-engine.' The invention, in the early years of the reign of

George III., of Hargreave's spinning-jenny, Arkwright's rolling-machine, and Crompton's 'mule,' gave an immense stimulus to the spinning trade, while Cartwright's power-loom, worked by water, replaced the old hand-loom and similarly transformed the weaving trade. The discovery that iron could be smelted with coal, as well as with charcoal, transferred the centres of the iron industry from the woods of Sussex and the west to the great Northern districts, where coal and iron are found close together. An elaborate system of canals, connecting the ports of London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull, facilitated the transport of the new products, while the highroads were improved under the Turnpike Acts, and the mail-coaches introduced in 1784 superseded the old clumsy stage-coaches, which took six days to go from Chester to London. But the real magician, whose wand changed the whole face of England, was James Watt, a Glasgow instrument-maker, who transformed the steam-engine, increased its power and usefulness, and developed that application of steam as a motive power of machinery which has led to such far-reaching consequences. The effects of this revolution in English trade were not, however, altogether good. The old agricultural life of England had long been declining. Small farms had been swallowed up by large ones, the yeoman class had almost disappeared, and the small farmer was rapidly sinking into the day-labourer. This process was hastened by the development of machinery and the growth of great manufactories, which destroyed those home industries by which the poorer farmers had supplemented their agricultural earnings. The profits to be made in trade, too, drew the country population into the towns, where the factory 'hands' were crowded together with small regard for health or comfort.

Population increased rapidly, and with it grew the demand for corn. The open commons were enclosed, and scientific methods of farming stimulated the productiveness of the land. Yet, in spite of an increased supply, the prices of corn and of the necessaries of life rose during the war, while wages did not rise proportionately. There was much distress among the poor, aggravated by the displacement of labour caused by the introduction of machines. The condition of the country population, fairly prosperous under George II., changed for the worse after 1792, and the evil was intensified by a short-sighted Poor Law, which eked out the labourer's low wages by grants of outdoor relief, and threw nearly a seventh of the population on the rates. In many parts of England there were machine-breaking riots, and manufacturers were forced to fly for their lives. In the end, no doubt, the immense stimulus given to trade by the new methods more than compensated for a temporary loss of employment, but the time of transition was a time of bitter suffering, in which class divisions were deepened, and the war between capital and labour began, while the increased wealth and importance of the great manufacturing towns emphasised the inequalities of Parliamentary representation, and led to the popular agitation by which, in 1832, the Reform Bill was carried. Since 1832 the political sovereignty, which by the revolution of 1689 was transferred from the king to the aristocracy, has passed, gradually but steadily, to the people. Yet, amid all these changes, England remains

> 'A State whose generous will through earth is dealt,
> A State which, balancing herself between
> Licence and slavish order, dares be free.'*

* Wordsworth.

THE PILOT THAT WEATHERED THE STORM.

A SONG WRITTEN BY CANNING TO CELEBRATE THE BIRTHDAY OF WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER, MAY 28, 1802.

If hushed the loud whirlwind that ruffled the deep,
The sky if no longer dark tempests deform,
When our perils are past, shall our gratitude sleep?
No—here's to the pilot that weathered the storm!

At the footstool of Power let Flattery fawn;
Let Faction her idols extol to the skies;
To Virtue in humble retirement withdrawn,
Unblamed may the accents of gratitude rise!

And shall not *his* memory to Britain be dear,
Whose example with envy all nations behold?
A statesman unbiassed by int'rest or fear,
By power uncorrupted, untainted by gold!

Who, when terror and doubt through the universe reigned,
While rapine and treason their standards unfurled,
The hearts and the hopes of his country maintained,
And one kingdom preserved 'midst the wreck of the world!

Unheeding, unthankful, we bask in the blaze
While the beams of the sun in full majesty shine;
When he sinks into twilight with fondness we gaze,
And mark the mild lustre that gilds his decline.

So, Pitt, when the course of thy greatness is o'er,
Thy talents, thy virtues, we fondly recall;
Now justly we prize thee, when lost we deplore;
Admired in thy zenith, but loved in thy fall.

O! take then—for dangers by wisdom repelled,
For evils by courage and constancy braved—
O! take, for a throne by thy counsels upheld,
The thanks of a people thy firmness has saved!

And O! if again the rude whirlwind should rise,
The dawning of peace should fresh darkness deform,
The regrets of the good and the fears of the wise
Shall turn to the pilot that weathered the storm.

SUMMARY

KING ALFRED THE GREAT, 871-900.*

871. The Year of Battles: Danish attack on *Thames Valley*. English victories of *Englefield* and *Ashdown*. Danish victories of *Reading*, *Basing*, and *Merton*.
Death of *King Ethelred*. Accession of *Alfred*.
Danish victory of *Wilton*.
874. Danish conquest of *Mercia*.
876. Occupation of *Deira* by Danes under *Halfdene*
Invasion of *Wessex* by Danes under *Guthrum*.
Peace of *Wareham* between Alfred and the Danes. Fresh Danish revolt.
877. Blockade of *Exeter* by Alfred.
878. Danish invasion of *Wessex* from the West.
Building of Alfred's fort at *Athelney*. Defeat of *Ubba* in Devonshire. Battle of *Ethandun*. Peace of *Wedmore* or *Chippenham*.
884. Danish siege of *Rochester*.
885. Revolt of Guthrum. Cession of *London* to Alfred.
892-896. Attack of *Hasten* on England. Rising of the *Danelaw*. Danes defeated at *Buttington*, driven from *Chester*, blockaded in the river *Lea*, and dispersed.
900. Death of *King Alfred*.

EDWARD THE ELDER, 900-924.

900. Accession of *Edward the Elder*, son of King Alfred.
907. The *Dee* guarded against the Danes by the fortification of *Chester*.
912. Death of *Ethelred*, Ealdorman of the Mercians, husband of *Ethelfled*, 'Lady of the Mercians,' daughter of King Alfred.
912-919. *The reconquest of the Danelaw* by Edward and Ethelflad.
1. Edward: (1) Secured the *Thames* by fortifying *London* and *Oxford*.
(2) Attacked *Guthrum's kingdom*, and raised *burhs* (huge mounds of earth, protected by an outer ditch and rampart, and probably crowned with a stockade) at *Hertford*, *Witham*, and *Maldon* in Essex.
(3) Attacked *Danish Mercia*, raised *burhs* at *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Huntingdon*, and fortified *Towcester* on the Watling Street and *Wigmore* on the Welsh border.

* The chronology of this period presents considerable difficulties. The dates here adopted are those accepted by the best recent authorities.

2. Ethelflæd (1) Secured the *western and northern frontiers of English Mercia* by *burhs* at *Scargate*, *Eddisbury*, *Cherbury*, and *Warbury*.
(2) Guarded *Watling Street*, the *Severn*, and *Upper Trent* by *burhs* at *Tamworth*, *Bridgenorth*, and *Stafford*.
(3) Secured the *Fosse Way* and the *Avon* by a *burh* at *Warwick*.
(4) Guarded the *Mersey* by a *burh* at *Runcorn*.

The Danes of the *Five Boroughs*—Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Nottingham, and Lincoln—submitted, Derby and Leicester to Ethelflæd; Stamford, Nottingham, and Lincoln to Edward.

919. Death of *Ethelflæd*. Edward took the government of *Mercia* into his own hands.

919-924. Fortification of the North-West by *burhs* at *Thelwall*, *Manchester*, and *Bakewell*.

The Danes of *Northumbria*, the English of *Bernicia*, the Britons of *Strathclyde*, the *King of Scots*, and 'all Scots folk,' chose Edward 'to father and lord.' The *Welsh chiefs* also submitted.

924. Death of *Edward the Elder*.

ATHELSTAN THE GLORIOUS, 924-940.

924. Accession of *Athelstan*, son of Edward the Elder.

926. Submission of *Welsh chiefs*, the *Scots*, and the *Bernicians*.

937 Battle of *Brunanburh*. Defeat of the Northumbrian Danes and their allies—the Irish Danes, the Strathclyde Britons, and the Scots—by Athelstan and his brother Edmund.

940. Death of *Athelstan*.

EDMUND THE MAGNIFICENT, 940-946.

940. Accession of *Edmund*, brother of Athelstan.

941-945. Edmund won back the revolted *Five Boroughs* and subdued *Northumbria*. He also harried *Strathclyde*, and granted it to *Malcolm*, *King of Scots*, on condition that he would be 'his fellow-worker by sea and land.'

946. *Edmund* stabbed to death by a robber whom he had outlawed.

EDRED THE EXCELLENT, 946-955.

946. Accession of *Edred*, brother of Edmund.

946-953. Subjugation of the Northumbrian Danes. Under-kingdom of Danish Northumbria reduced to an earldom.

955. Death of *Edred*.

EDWY THE FAIR, 955-959.

955. Accession of *Edwy*, son of Edmund.

956. Banishment of *Dunstan*.

957. Revolt of *Mercia* and the *Danelaw* in favour of *Edgar*, Edwy's brother.
Division of the kingdom.

959. Death of *Edwy*. Edgar sole king.

EDGAR THE PEACEFUL, 959-975.

959. Accession of *Edgar*, half-brother of Edwy.
Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury.
961. *Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester.
963. *Æthelwold*, Bishop of Winchester. Monastic revival.
973. Coronation of *Edgar* at Bath by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.
975. Death of *Edgar*.

EDWARD THE MARTYR, 975-978.

975. Accession of *Edward*, son of Edgar.
Struggle between the parties of centralization and decentralization.
978. Death of *Edward*. His stepmother, *Ælfthrith*, supposed to have had him murdered at Corfe.

ETHELRED THE UNREADY, 978-1016.

978. Accession of *Ethelred*, half-brother of Edward, called the 'Unready.' (*Anglo-Saxon: unræd, lacking in 'rede' or counsel.*)
980. Renewal of Danish invasions. *Wickings* in *Southampton Water*
981. *London* burnt by the *Wickings*.
988. Death of *Dunstan*.
Devonshire *fyrd* defeated by the *Wickings*.
991. Battle of *Maldon*. The *East Saxons* defeated by the *Wickings*.
First payment of *Danegeld*, or Dane-money.
994. *London* attacked by *Olaf, King of Norway*, and *Sweyn, King of Denmark*. Wickings repulsed by the citizens.
Invaders bought off by *Danegeld*.
997. The *West* ravaged by the *Wickings*.
998-999. *Wicking* ravages in the *West* and *South*. Siege of *Rochester*
1000. *Wicking* ravages in the *South*.
1002. Marriage of *Ethelred* and *Emma*, sister of Richard II., Duke of Normandy.
Massacre of *Danes* in England on *St. Brice's Day* (November 11).
1003. Invasion of England by *Sweyn of Denmark*.
1004. Harrying of *Eastern coast*.
1006. Settlement of Danes in the *Isle of Wight*.
1012. *Ælfheah*, Archbishop of Canterbury, murdered by the Danes.
1013. Submission of Northern England and Wessex to *Sweyn*.
1014. Flight of *Ethelred* to Normandy. Death of *Sweyn*. Recall of *Ethelred*.
1015. Submission of Wessex and the North to *Cnut*, son of Sweyn.
1016. Death of *Ethelred*.

EDMUND IRONSIDE, April to November, 1016.

1016. *Edmund*, son of Ethelred, chosen king by the men of London.
Cnut chosen king by the greater part of England

Struggle between Cnut and Edmund. Danes defeated in Battles of *Penselwood*, *Sherstone*, *Brentford*, and *Otford*, and victorious in Battle of *Assandun*, owing to the treachery of *Eadric Streona*, the Ealdorman.

Treaty of Olney. *Cnut* to rule *Mercia*, *London*, and the *North*; *Edmund* to have *Wessex*. Death of *Edmund* (November 30).

CNUT, 1016-1035.

1016-1017. *Cnut* elected and crowned King of all England.
1017. Marriage of *Cnut* to *Emma*, widow of Ethelred the Unready.
1018. *Laws of Edgar* reissued. *Danegeld* levied to maintain the *housecarls*, or royal troops.
1019. Visit of Cnut to *Denmark*.
1027. Pilgrimage of Cnut to *Rome*. Commercial treaty with the *Emperor* and the *King of Burgundy*.
1028. Invasion of *Norway* by Cnut. Expulsion of *King Olaf*. *Cnut* elected *King of Norway*.
1031. Invasion of *Scotland* by Cnut. Homage of *Malcolm*, *King of Scots*, to *Cnut*. The King of Denmark, Norway, and England, overlord of Great Britain.
1035. Death of *Cnut*.

HAROLD HAREFOOT, 1035-1040.

1035. *Harold*, son of Cnut, ruler of England, north of Thames. The South held by *Queen Emma* and by *Godwine*, Earl of Wessex, for *Harthacnut*, Harold's stepbrother.
1036. Landing in England of *Alfred*, son of Ethelred the Unready.
Arrest and murder of *Alfred*. *Godwine* suspected.
Queen Emma banished. *Harold* chosen as full King of England.
1040. Death of *Harold*.

HARTHACNUT, 1040-1042.

1040. *Harthacnut* elected King of England. *Danegeld* levied.
Trial of *Godwine* for murder of Alfred. His acquittal.
1041. *Worcestershire* harried for resisting the levy of Danegeld.
Arrival in England of *Edward*, brother of Alfred, and son of Ethelred the Unready.
1042. Death of *Harthacnut*.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042-1066.

1042. Proclamation of *Edward* (the Confessor), son of Ethelred the Unready and of the Norman Emma.
1043. *Coronation* of *Edward the Confessor*.
1044. *Robert, abbot of Jumièges*, (in Normandy), appointed *Bishop of London*.
1045. Marriage of *Edward the Confessor* to *Edith*, daughter of Godwine.
Great influence of *Earl Godwine* and his family. His son *Sweyn* Earl in the West, and his son *Harold* Earl of East Anglia

1046. *Sweyn*, son of Godwine, outlawed.
1049. Return of *Sweyn*. Murder of *Beorn*, Godwine's nephew, by *Sweyn*.
1051. Decline of the power of Godwine. Rise of the Norman party.
Robert of Jumièges appointed *Archbishop of Canterbury*
Visit of *Eustace, Count of Boulogne*, to England. Quarrel with *Godwine*. *Godwine* and his family *outlawed*.
Visit of *William Duke of Normandy* to his kinsman, *Edward the Confessor*.
1052. Return of *Godwine* and his sons. *Robert of Jumièges* and the foreigners outlawed. Restoration to power of the *House of Godwine*.
Stigand appointed Archbishop of Canterbury
1053. *Death of Godwine*. His son *Harold* Earl of Wessex.
1055. *Tostig*, Harold's brother, Earl of *Northumbria*.
1056. Expedition of *Harold* against the *Welsh*.
1057. Death of *Edward*, son of Edmund Ironside. Death of *Leofric*, Earl of Mercia. His son *Elfgar* Earl of Mercia. *Gurth*, Harold's brother, Earl of East Anglia in the place of Elfgar, and *Leofwine*, another of Harold's brothers, Earl of Essex and the neighbouring counties.
1064. *Welsh war*.
1064-1065. *Harold*, shipwrecked on the French coast, forced by the *Duke of Normandy* to swear to support his claim to the English crown.
1065. *Welsh war*. Death of *Elfgar*. *Edwin*, his son, Earl of Mercia. Banishment of *Tostig*. *Morkere*, brother of Edwin, appointed Earl of Northumbria.
1066. Death of *Edward the Confessor* without children (January 5).

HAROLD, January to October, 1066.

1066. *Harold*, son of Godwine, elected and crowned King of England at Westminster.
Claim to English Crown put forward by *William, Duke of Normandy*, as the chosen heir of Edward the Confessor.
Invasion of Northern England by *Tostig* and his ally, *Harold Hardrada*, King of Norway. Defeat of *Edwin* and *Morkere*.
Submission of *York*. *Tostig and the Norwegians* defeated by *King Harold* in the Battle of *Stamford Bridge* (September 25).
Landing of *William of Normandy* and his army at *Pevensey*. Forced march of *Harold* to the South.
Battle of *Hastings* or *Senlac* (October 14). Victory of the *Normans*. Death of *Harold*.

WILLIAM I., THE CONQUEROR, 1066-1087.

Married **Matilda of Flanders.**

1066. *October 14 to Christmas Day. Conquest of the South.*
Election of *Edgar Ætheling*, son of Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, as King of England. Submission to the Conqueror of *Kent* and *Hampshire*. Submission of the English leaders

with Edgar Ætheling, at *Berkhampstead*. Coronation of *King William* at Westminster.

1067. Visit of *William I.* to Normandy. Rising against the regents—*Odo, Bishop of Bayeux* and Earl of Kent, the Conqueror's half-brother, and *William Fitz-Osbern*, Earl of Hereford.

1068. (*a*) *Conquest of Exeter and the West.* Building of *Exeter Castle*.
(*b*) *Coronation of Queen Matilda.*
(*c*) *First rising of the North* under *Edwin* and *Morkere*. William's *march on York*. Building or strengthening of *castles* at *Warwick, Nottingham, York, Lincoln, Huntingdon*, and *Cambridge*.
(*d*) *Harold's sons* repulsed from the North-West.

1069-1070. (*a*) *Second rising of the North* under *Edgar Ætheling*. Capture of *York*. William's *second march on York*.
(*b*) *Final rising of the West and North* in alliance with *Harold's sons*, the *Welsh*, and the *Danes*. William's *great Northern march*. *Harrying of the North*. William's *winter march on Chester*. Building of castles at *Chester* and *Stafford*.

1070. Formation of *Hereward's 'Camp of Refuge'* in the *Isle of Ely*.
Deposition of *Stigand*. *Lanfranc* appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.

1071. Death of *Earl Edwin*. Surrender of the '*Camp of Refuge*.'

1072. Submission of *Malcolm, King of Scots*, to *William the Conqueror*.

1073-1074. Conquest of the county of *Maine* by William I.

1075. *Revolt of Ralph Guader, Earl of Norfolk*, and *Roger, Earl of Hereford*, in alliance with *Waltheof*, the English *Earl of Huntingdon*. Plot betrayed to William by Waltheof. Suppression of the revolt.

1076. Execution of *Waltheof*.
Refusal of *fealty to the Pope* by William I.

1078. *Revolt* of *Robert*, son of William the Conqueror.

1082. Imprisonment of *Odo of Bayeux*.
Death of Queen Matilda.

1084. Renewal of the *Danegeld*.

1085-1086. *Domesday Survey*.

1086. *Oath of Salisbury*. All landholders bound by a direct oath of homage to the king.

1087. War with *France*. *Death of William I.* at *Rouen*. Burial at *Caen*.

WILLIAM II. (RUFUS), 1087-1100.

1087. Accession of *William*, second son of the Conqueror, to the English throne. *Coronation* at Westminster by *Archbishop Lanfranc*.

1088. Attempt of *Robert, Duke of Normandy*, the Conqueror's eldest son, to win the kingdom, with the support of the great nobles and of *Odo of Bayeux*. Rising suppressed by William II. with the help of the English. Banishment of *Odo of Bayeux*.

1089. Death of *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of Canterbury.

1090-1091. War with *Normandy*. *Treaty of Caen* between Robert and William.

1091. Invasion of England by *Malcolm King of Scots*, repulsed. *Malcolm* forced to do homage to *William II.*

1093. Invasion of *Northumberland* by the Scots *Malcolm, King of Scots, slain at Alnwick.*
Anselm appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.
1093-1094. Disturbances in *Wales.*
1094. War with *Normandy.*
1095. *Conspiracy* of the nobles under *Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland,* and *William, Count of Eu,* in favour of *Stephen of Aumâle,* the Conqueror's nephew. Revolt suppressed. Leaders imprisoned, mutilated, or banished.
Invasion of *Wales* by William II.
1096. *Duchy of Normandy* pledged by *Robert* to *William II.* for money to go on the *First Crusade.*
1096-1097. War in *Wales.*
1097-1098. Voluntary exile of *Archbishop Anselm*
War with *France.*
1098-1099. War with *Maine.* Submission of *Maine* to William II., followed by fresh disturbances.
1100. *Sudden death of William II.,* killed by an arrow in the New Forest.

HENRY I. (BEAUCLERC), 1100-1135.

Married (1) **Edith, or Matilda, of Scotland,** (2) **Adela of Louvain.**

1100. *Election* and *coronation* of *Henry,* third son of the Conqueror, as King of England. *Charter of Liberties* issued. *Marriage of Henry I.* with *Edith,* or *Matilda,* daughter of Malcolm, King of Scots, and of Margaret, sister of Edgar Ætheling.
1101. Attempt of *Robert, Duke of Normandy,* to win the English throne. Invasion of England by Robert. Henry I. supported by the Church and by the English. Robert induced to return to Normandy.
1102. Rebellion and banishment of *Robert of Belesme,* Earl of Shrewsbury.
1103. Visit of *Anselm* to Rome.
1104 The Normans discontented with *Duke Robert.* Visit of Henry I. to Normandy.
1105. War with Normandy. *Robert of Belesme* on Duke Robert's side.
1106. Battle of *Tenchebrai.* *Duke Robert* taken prisoner by Henry I. *Robert of Belesme* pardoned.
1107. The *Investiture Question* settled by the *Compromise of Westminster.*
1109. Death of *Anselm,* Archbishop of Canterbury.
1112. *Robert of Belesme* again convicted of treachery, and imprisoned for life.
1113. Homage done to Henry I. by *Count Fulk of Anjou* for *Maine.*
Betrothal of Henry's son *William* to Fulk's daughter.
1114. Invasion of *Wales* by Henry I.
Marriage of *Matilda,* daughter of Henry I., to *Henry V.,* King of Germany, afterwards Emperor.
1116. War with France. *William 'Clito'* (*the Ætheling*), son of Duke Robert, supported by *Louis VI.,* King of France.
1118. Rebellion of the *Norman barons.* War with *Anjou.*
Death of *Queen Matilda.*

1119. Defeat of the French in the Battle of *Brémule*.
Marriage of *William*, son of Henry I., and *Matilda of Anjou*.
1120. *William*, only son of Henry I., drowned in the wreck of the *White Ship*.
1121. Marriage of *Henry I.* and *Adela of Louvain*.
Campaign in *Wales*.
1123. Rising in *Normandy* in favour of *William 'Clito.'* Marriage of *William 'Clito'* and *Sybil*, daughter of Fulk of Anjou.
1125. Death of the Emperor, *Henry V.*
1127 Homage done to the *Empress Matilda* in London.
1128. *William 'Clito'* killed in Flanders.
1129. Marriage of the *Empress Matilda* and *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, son and heir of Fulk, Count of Anjou.
1131. Homage again done to the *Empress Matilda* in England.
1133. Birth of *Henry*, son of Geoffrey of Anjou and the Empress Matilda.
1134. Death in prison of *Robert of Normandy*.
1135. Death of *Henry I.*

STEPHEN, 1135-1154.

Married **Matilda of Boulogne.**

1135. *Stephen of Blois*, Count of Mortain and Boulogne, son of Stephen, Count of Blois, and Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, *crowned* King of England at Westminster.
1136. A *charter* granted by Stephen. Stephen's *homage* for the *Duchy of Normandy* accepted by the French king. *Struggle for the crown of England* between Stephen and the *Empress Matilda*, daughter of Henry II.
Risings in *Norfolk*, *Devonshire*, and *Wales*.
1138. David, King of Scots, uncle of Matilda, defeated in the *Battle of the Standard* near Northallerton.
Allegiance to Stephen renounced by *Robert of Gloucester*, Matilda's half-brother.
1139. Cession of *Northumberland* by Stephen to the King of Scots. Arrest by Stephen of *Roger, Bishop of Salisbury*, the Justiciar, his son *Roger*, the Chancellor, and his nephews, *Nigel, Bishop of Ely*, the Treasurer, and *Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln*. Imprisonment of the two Rogers and the Bishop of Lincoln. The *Church party*, including *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*, and *Henry, Bishop of Winchester*, Stephen's brother, alienated from the King.
Landing of Matilda in England. Beginning of *Civil War*.
1141. *Stephen* taken prisoner in the *Battle of Lincoln*.
Matilda declared *'Lady of England and Normandy'* by Henry of Winchester, now Papal Legate, in a Synod at Winchester. *Matilda* driven out of *London*, after alienating the citizens by her arrogance. The cause of the Empress deserted by *Henry of Winchester*.
Robert of Gloucester taken prisoner by the King's forces and exchanged for *Stephen*.

1142. *Oxford* taken by *Stephen*. Flight of *Matilda*.
1147. *Death of Robert of Gloucester*.
The *Second Crusade* preached by *St. Bernard*.
1151. *Henry, son of Matilda and of Geoffrey of Anjou*, acknowledged as *Duke of Normandy*.
Death of *Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou*.
1152. Marriage of *Henry*, now *Count of Anjou*, to *Eleanor, Countess of Poitou and Duchess of Aquitaine*, the divorced wife of the French king, Louis VII.
1153. *Invasion of England* by *Henry of Anjou*.
Death of *Eustace*, Stephen's son. Henry recognised as heir to the English throne by the *Treaty of Wallingford*.
1154. Death of *King Stephen*.

HENRY II., 1154-1189.

Married **Eleanor of Aquitaine.**

1154. *Coronation of Henry II. and Eleanor* at Westminster. A *charter* issued. *Thomas Becket* appointed *Chancellor*.
1157. The *Northern counties* surrendered to England by the *King of Scots*. *Scottish homage* to England for the earldom of *Huntingdon*.
War with *Wales*.
1159. *War between France and England* over Queen Eleanor's rights to the *County of Toulouse*.
1160. *Marriage of Henry*, eldest son of Henry II., to *Margaret*, daughter of Louis VII., King of France.
1162. Appointment of *Becket* to the *Archbishopric of Canterbury*.
Homage done to young Henry as joint king with his father.
1163. *Quarrel between Henry II. and Becket* over the 'sheriff's aid'.
The question of *criminal clerks* brought before the *Great Council* at *Westminster*.
1164. *Great Council of Clarendon*. Issue of the *Constitutions of Clarendon*.
Great Council of Northampton. *Trial and flight of Becket*.
1166. Issue of the *Assize of Clarendon*, which reformed the *police system* and instituted the *Grand Jury*, or *Jury of Presentment*.
Enquiry into the amount of *knight service* due to the king in England.
1170. The *Inquest of Sheriffs*. Local administration reformed.
Coronation of Henry, the 'Young King,' by the Archbishop of York.
Murder of Becket at Canterbury.
1171. Visit of Henry II. to *Ireland*.
1172. *Submission and absolution of Henry II*.
1173. *Betrothal of John*, youngest son of Henry II., to the daughter of the Count of Maurienne. *Revolt of the King's sons*, in concert with the Kings of France and Scotland, the Counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois, and many of the great feudatories. Flight of young Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey to the French Court. Arrest and imprisonment of *Queen Eleanor*. Capture of the *Earl of Chester* in Brittany. Defeat of the *Earl of Leicester* at the Battle of *Fornham* in Suffolk. *Scottish inroad. Truce*.
1174. *Scottish invasion* of Northumberland. *Penance of Henry II* at

Becket's tomb. Capture of *William the Lion*, King of Scots, at *Alnwick*. Suppression of the revolt in *England*. Siege of *Rouen* raised by Henry II. Submission of the *King's sons*. By the *Treaty of Falaise* William the Lion freed on condition of doing homage to Henry II. for the kingdom of Scotland.

1176. The Assize of Clarendon expanded by the *Assize of Northampton*.

1180. Death of *Louis VII.*, King of France. Accession of *Philip II.* (*Augustus*).

1181 The *military system* reformed by the *Assize of Arms*.

1183. Revolt of the '*Young King*' *Henry*. His illness and death.

1184. The *forest system* regulated by the *Assize of Woodstock*.

1185. Visit of the *Patriarch of Jerusalem* to England to urge Henry II. to take the Cross.

Visit of *John* to his lordship of *Ireland*.

1186 *Death of Geoffrey of Brittany*, third son of Henry II.

1187. Birth of *Arthur*, son of Geoffrey of Brittany.

Capture of Jerusalem by the Turks under *Saladin*. The Cross taken by *Richard, Count of Poitou*.

1188. The Cross taken by *Henry II. and Philip II.*, the Kings of England and France. A '*Saladin tithe*' levied for the Crusade.

1189 *Revolt of Richard and John*, in alliance with *Philip of France*.

Submission and death of Henry II.

RICHARD I. (CŒUR DE LION), 1189-1199.

Married **Berengaria of Navarre.**

1189. *Coronation of Richard I.* at Westminster. *Massacre of the Jews*. Money procured for the *Crusade* by releasing *William the Lion* from the *Treaty of Falaise* and *selling offices* and places of trust.

1190. Quarrel between *Hugh de Puiset*, Bishop of Durham, and *William Longchamp*, Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, over the government of the kingdom during Richard's absence. *Longchamp* sole *Justiciar*.

Embarkation of the French and English forces for the *Holy Land*. Arrival of the *Kings of France and England* at *Messina* in *Sicily*. Alljance between *Richard* and *Tancred of Sicily*.

1191. Conquest of *Cyprus* by Richard. Marriage of *Richard* and *Berengaria of Navarre*. Arrival of Richard before the besieged seaport of *Acre* in Syria. Capture of *Acre*. Return of *Philip Augustus* to France. Turks defeated by *Richard* in the Battle of *Arsûf*. *Joppa* fortified.

Deposition of the unpopular *Longchamp* by the barons, led by John, the king's brother, the bishops, and the London citizens. *Walter of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen, Justiciar*. Intrigues of *Philip Augustus* and *John*.

1192. Crusaders at *Ascalon*. *Joppa* threatened by *Saladin*, and saved by *Richard*. *Truce with Saladin*, and end of the *Third Crusade*. *Capture of Richard* on his homeward journey by *Leopold, Duke of Austria*, who handed him over to the *Emperor, Henry VI*

1193. English crown demanded by *John*. Normandy invaded by *Philip Augustus*. Richard's *ransom* raised. *Hubert Walter*, Archbishop of Canterbury, *Justiciar*.

1194. *Richard freed from captivity* after doing homage to the Emperor for his kingdom. *Second coronation* of Richard. *John* pardoned. *Truce* with *France*.
1195. *Richard* on the Continent. War with *France*.
1197. Building of the fortress of *Château-Gaillard* on the Seine above Rouen.
1198. *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter Justiciar*. Death of the *Emperor Henry VI*.
1199. *Death of Richard I.* at *Chalûs*. *Burial* at *Fontevrault*.

JOHN (LACKLAND), 1199-1216.

Married (1) **Hawisa of Gloucester**, (2) **Isabella of Angoulême**.

1199. *Coronation* of John.
1200. *Divorce* of John's wife, *Hawisa of Gloucester*. *Marriage* of John to *Isabella of Angoulême*, the betrothed bride of Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche. *Appeal of the barons of Poitou* against John to their overlord, the King of France.
1202. Refusal of John to appear in Philip II.'s court to answer charges against him made the pretext for an *invasion of Normandy* by *Philip*, in alliance with *Arthur of Brittany*, whose claims to succeed Richard were supported by a strong party on the Continent.
Queen Eleanor besieged in the *Castle of Mirebeau* by Arthur. Siege raised by *John*. *Arthur* taken prisoner.
1203. Disappearance of *Arthur*. John suspected of having murdered him.
1204. *Château-Gaillard* taken by the French. *Normandy*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *and Touraine* conquered by *Philip Augustus*. Death of *Queen Eleanor*.
1205. Death of *Hubert Walter*, Archbishop of Canterbury. *Disputed election* to the archbishopric. *Reginald*, sub-prior, chosen by the *younger monks* of Canterbury; *John de Grey*, Bishop of Norwich and Treasurer, nominated by *John*. Claim of the *bishops* of the Canterbury province to a voice in the election. Appeal to the *Pope*.
1206. Claims set aside by *Innocent III* in favour of the election of the English Cardinal, *Stephen Langton*.
1208. England laid under an *interdict* to punish John for refusing to recognise Stephen Langton as Archbishop. Estates of the clergy seized by John.
1209. *Excommunication* of John by the Pope.
1210. Visit of John to *Ireland*.
1211. Disturbances in *Wales*. John threatened by the Pope with *deposition* at the hands of Philip of France.
1213 *Reconciliation of John with the Pope*. *Langton* accepted as Archbishop. *Homage done by John to Innocent III* for his kingdom England to be held as a fief of the Holy See for a yearly payment of 1,000 marks.
English *naval victory* over the French. *Refusal of the barons* to follow John to Poitou. *Charter of Henry I.* produced by Stephen Langton at a Council in St Paul's. Death of *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, the Justiciar.

1214. Last attempt of John to recover his *Continental dominions*. John's allies—*the Emperor Otto IV., and the Count of Flanders*, with a combined army of German, Flemish, and English troops defeated in the Battle of *Bouvines*. *Truce* between John and Philip Augustus.

Meeting of barons at *Bury St. Edmunds*. Resolve to demand a charter.

1215. Attempt by John to detach the *clergy* from the national cause by offering them *freedom of election*. Arms assumed by the *barons;* march on *London*.

June 15. '*Magna Carta*' or the *Great Charter* granted by John at *Runnymede*. *Barons excommunicated* and *Great Charter annulled* by the *Pope*. *Langton* suspended. Crown of England offered by barons to *Louis*, son of Philip Augustus. *Civil War*.

1216. *Landing of Louis* in Kent. *Death of King John at Newark* (October 19).

HENRY III., 1216-1272.

Married **Eleanor of Provence.**

1216. *Coronation* of Henry III., the nine-year-old son of John, at Gloucester. *William the Marshal*, Earl of Pembroke, *Regent*. *Reissue* of the *Great Charter*, with some alterations. *Death of Innocent III*.

1217. Defeat of the French in the *Battle of Lincoln*. Defeat of a French fleet off *Dover* by the *Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh*. *Treaty of Lambeth* with *Louis*. Departure of Louis. *Second reissue* of the *Great Charter*. Issue of a *Forest Charter*.

1219. Death of the *Earl of Pembroke*. *Peter des Roches*, Bishop of Winchester, guardian of the king, and leader of the foreign party in England. National party led by *Hubert de Burgh* and *Stephen Langton*.

1221. Retirement of *Pandulf*, the Papal Legate.

1224. Banishment of *Fawkes de Breauté*, John's foreign favourite, sheriff of six counties. *Coming of the Franciscan Friars* to England.

1227 Dismissal of *Peter des Roches*. Declaration by Henry III. that he is of age to govern for himself. Death of *Pope Honorius III*.

1228. Death of *Archbishop Stephen Langton*. Exorbitant demands of money from England by *Pope Gregory IX*.

1231. Return and renewed influence of *Peter des Roches*.

1232. Disgrace and imprisonment of *Hubert de Burgh*. Triumph of the *foreign party* in England.

1233. *Richard, Earl of Pembroke*, second son of William the Marshal, leader of the national party, proclaimed a traitor. *Civil War*. Richard Marshal joined by *Hubert de Burgh* and the *Welsh*.

1234. *Richard Marshal* betrayed and wounded to death in Ireland. The King forced by *Edmund Rich*, Archbishop of Canterbury, to dismiss *Peter des Roches* and his foreign advisers.

1236. *Marriage of Henry III. to Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence*. Influence of the Queen's uncle, *William, bishop-elect of Valence*, and of the Provençal party in England.

1237. Arrival of *Cardinal Otho* as Papal Legate in England.
1238. Marriage of *Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester*, to the King's sister, *Eleanor*, widow of William Marshal the younger, Earl of Pembroke.
1240. Demand by Cardinal Otho of 300 English benefices for the Pope.
Death of *Archbishop Edmund Rich.*
1242. Marriage of *Richard, Earl of Cornwall*, the King's brother, to *Sancia*, the Queen's sister.
Unsuccessful campaign in *Gascony*. Battles of *Taillebourg* and *Saintes*.
1244. *A committee of twelve representatives of the prelates, earls, and barons*, including *De Montfort* and *Grossetete*, Bishop of Lincoln, formed to treat with the King. Demands for appointment of ministers and reform of government.
1245-1246. *Council of Lyons*. Complaints of the exactions of 'Master Martin,' the Papal agent, and of the Papal extortions, laid before Pope Innocent IV. (who succeeded Gregory IX. in 1243), by representatives of the 'community of England.'
1248. *Simon de Montfort* entrusted with the government of *Gascony*.
1253. *Death of Robert Grossetete*, Bishop of Lincoln. Henry III. forced to swear to observe *the Charters.*
1254. The *crown of Sicily* accepted by Henry III. from the Pope for his younger son *Edmund*. *Pope Innocent IV.* succeeded by *Alexander IV.*
1258. Meeting of the '*Mad Parliament*' at Oxford. The '*Provisions of Oxford*' drawn up.
1259. *Quarrel* between the Earls of *Gloucester* and *Leicester*
Issue of the '*Provisions of Westminster*' *Treaty of Paris*. Peace with France.
1261. Henry III. *absolved by the Pope* from his oath to observe the 'Provisions.'
1262. Death of the *Earl of Gloucester.*
1263. *Civil war*. Quarrel referred to *Louis IX.* (*St. Louis*) of France.
1264. Issue of the award of Louis IX., the '*Mise of Amiens*'
Renewed *Civil war*. Battle of *Lewes*. '*Mise of Lewes.*'
Representative Parliament in London. New *scheme of government.*
1265. Parliament, to which *representatives of shires and cities and boroughs* summoned.
Quarrel between *De Montfort* and *Gloucester*. Escape of *Edward*, the King's son.
Battle of *Evesham*. Defeat and death of *De Montfort.*
1266. '*Dictum de Kenilworth.*' Final terms made with De Montfort's followers. Henry III. restored to full authority. Peace made with the *Welsh* by the *Treaty of Shrewsbury*.
1267. Most of the *Provisions of Westminster* re-enacted in the *Statute of Marlborough*.
1268. The Cross taken by *Edward of England.*
1270. *Edward's* departure to join the French Crusaders in Northern Africa. *Death of Louis IX.* at Tunis
1272. *Death of King Henry III.*

EDWARD I., 1272-1307.

Married (1) **Eleanor of Castile**, (2) **Margaret of France.**

1272. *Proclamation of Edward I.* as King of England.
1274. *Coronation of Edward I.* on his return to England. The first English king whose reign began before his coronation.
1275. *First Statute of Westminster.* Administrative abuses remedied.
1277. War with *Llywelyn*, Prince of Wales. *Treaty of Conway.* Homage done to Edward by Llywelyn,
1279. *Statute of Mortmain.* Acquisition of land by monasteries or other religious bodies forbidden. Clergy prevented from evading public duties.
1282. *Welsh war* renewed. Death of *Llywelyn.*
1283. Capture and execution of *David*, brother of Llywelyn. *Statute of Merchants* (re-enacted 1285).
1284. *Statute of Wales*, or *Rhuddlan.* Principality of Wales annexed to England. Organization of the government of Wales. Birth of Edward, 'Prince of Wales,' son of Edward I., afterwards Edward II.
1285. *Second Statute of Westminster* ('entails' created by the clause 'De Donis Conditionalibus'). *Statute of Winchester* (militia and police system revived and reorganized).
1286. *Death of Alexander III., King of Scots*, Edward I.'s brother-in-law.
1290. *Third Statute of Westminster*, '*Quia Emptores*' (alienation in transfer of landed property made easier). *Statute* '*Quo Warranto*' (rights of the feudatories defined and checked).
Banishment of all Jews from England.
Treaty of Brigham. Margaret, the Child-Queen of Scotland, called 'the Maid of Norway,' granddaughter of Alexander III. and daughter of Eric, King of Norway, to marry Edward, son of Edward I. *Death of the* '*Maid of Norway.*' *Death of Queen Eleanor*, wife of Edward I.
1291. *Meeting of Norham* on the Border. Edward I. recognised as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and appointed arbiter in the disputed question of the succession to the throne.
1292. The crown of Scotland awarded by Edward I. to *John Balliol*, great-grandson of David, brother of William the Lion. *Coronation* of Balliol. *Homage* done by Balliol to Edward I. as his feudal superior.
1293. *Quarrel* between *Edward I.* and *Philip IV., King of France.* Edward summoned as Duke of Aquitaine before the French King's court. On his refusal to appear, the Duchy of Aquitaine declared forfeited.
Demand from the clergy of a grant of half their goods.
1295. Meeting of the '*Model Parliament*' (representatives of the 'Three Estates'—Clergy, Lords, and Commons—met in one place and at one time to grant taxes).
Risings in *Wales* and *Scotland.* Alliance between *France* and *Scotland.*
1296. Scots defeated at *Dunbar. Balliol deposed.*

Edward I.'s taxation of the clergy opposed by *Winchilsey, Archbishop of Canterbury*, as contrary to the Papal Bull '*Clericis Laicos.*'

1297. Refusal of *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of Hereford, the Constable, and *Roger Bigod*, Earl of Norfolk, the Marshal, to serve in Gascony. *Seizure of the wool* of the kingdom. *Military levy* for the Gascon war.

Grant by Edward of Wales of the *Confirmation of the Charters* (renunciation of arbitrary taxation) Ratification of the 'Confirmation' by the King. Rising of *William Wallace* in Scotland. English defeated at *Cambuskenneth Bridge*, or *Stirling Bridge*.

1298. Defeat of the Scots at *Falkirk*.

1299. *Peace with France. Marriage of Edward I. to Margaret*, sister of Philip IV. Betrothal of Edward of Wales to Isabella, Philip IV.'s daughter.

1303. Disturbances in *Scotland*.

1304. *Stirling Castle* relieved by Edward I.

1305. Capture and execution of *William Wallace*.

1306. Murder of *John Comyn* by *Robert Bruce*. Bruce *crowned* King of Scotland. Bruce defeated at *Methven*.

1307. English defeated at *Loudon Hill*. *Death of Edward I.* at Burgh-on-Sands, near Carlisle, on his march northwards

EDWARD II., 1307-1327.

Married **Isabella of France.**

1307. *Accession* of Edward II. Recall of *Piers Gaveston*, the King's favourite, banished by Edward I.

1308. *Marriage of Edward II.* and Isabella of France. *Coronation of Edward II.* Unpopularity of *Gaveston* with the barons. Gaveston sent to *Ireland* as lord-deputy.

1309. Return of *Gaveston*.

1310. Twenty-one lords and bishops, called the *Lords Ordainers*, appointed to regulate the King's household.

Invasion of *Scotland* by Edward II.

1311. The '*Ordinances*,' or rules for the government of the country, drawn up by the Lords Ordainers, ratified by Parliament. *Gaveston* banished in accordance with the 'Ordinances.'

1312. *Gaveston* recalled. Arms taken up by the barons under *Thomas, Earl of Lancaster*, son of Edmund of Sicily. *Gaveston* seized by the *Earl of Warwick* and executed.

1314. *Invasion of Scotland* by Edward II Defeat of the English at *Bannockburn*. Ascendancy of *Thomas of Lancaster*.

1315. *Northumberland* ravaged by the Scots. *Ireland* invaded by *Edward Bruce*, Robert's brother.

1318. *Berwick* taken, and *Yorkshire* ravaged by Robert Bruce.

1320. Ascendancy of the King's new favourites, *Hugh le Despenser and his son*.

1321. The *Despensers* banished by Parliament. *Civil war*.

1322. Recall of the *Despensers*. Defeat of *Lancaster* at *Boroughbridge*. *Execution of Lancaster*. Imprisonment of *Roger Mortimer*, his

strongest supporter. *Revocation of the Ordinances* in *a Parliament at York*, which decreed that all things which concerned the kingdom ought to be dealt with in a complete Parliament—that is, by the Commons as well as the Lords.

Accession of *Charles IV.* of France.

1323. Truce with *Scotland.*

1324. Escape of *Roger Mortimer* to France.

1325. Meeting of *Mortimer* in France with *Queen Isabella* and the young *Edward, Prince of Wales. Conspiracy* against Edward II.

1326. *Landing in Suffolk* of the *Queen, Mortimer, and the Prince of Wales.* Capture and execution of the *elder Despenser. Capture of the King* and of the *younger Despenser.* Execution of the *younger Despenser.*

1327. Meeting of *Parliament* at *Westminster.* Declaration that the King should be *deposed* because he was unable to rule, had evil advisers, and had lost Scotland, Ireland, and Gascony. *Resignation and imprisonment of Edward II.*

EDWARD III., 1327-1377.

Married **Philippa of Hainault.**

1327. *Coronation* of Edward III. Government of Queen Isabella and Mortimer. *Murder of Edward II. in Berkeley Castle* (September 21).

1328. *Peace of Northampton* with Robert Bruce. Complete independence of Scotland recognised.

Marriage of Edward III. and Philippa of Hainault.

Death of Charles IV. of France.

1329 *Death of Robert Bruce.* Accession of *David*, his little son.

1330 Execution of the *Earl of Kent*, the King's uncle, for a supposed plot against Mortimer's government. Conspiracy of *Edward III.* and *Henry, Earl of Lancaster* (brother of Thomas of Lancaster), against Mortimer. Arrest, trial, and execution of *Mortimer* Imprisonment of *Queen Isabella* in a convent.

1332. *Edward Balliol*, son of John Balliol, crowned King of Scotland, but driven out by David's party, with French help.

1333 *Invasion of England* by the Scots. English victory of *Halidon Hill. Berwick* taken by the English, and *Edward Balliol* placed on the throne of Scotland.

1334 *Edward Balliol*, the vassal of England, again driven from Scotland.

1335. *Invasion of Scotland* by Edward III. and *Edward Balliol.*

1336 *Invasion of Gascony by Philip VI.*, King of France, in order to help *David Bruce.*

1337 *Assumption by Edward III of the title of King of France.* (His mother, Isabella, was the daughter of Philip IV. Philip VI. was the son of Philip IV.'s younger brother, Charles of Valois. As a woman Isabella could not inherit, but Edward maintained that she could transmit her claim to her son.)

1338. Beginning of the '*Hundred Years' War*' with France. Alliance of Edward III. with the Emperor and Flanders.

1340. English naval victory off *Sluys*. *Truce* for a year.
1346. Beginning of the *second stage of the French war*. Invasion of *Normandy* by Edward III. *Battle of Cressy* (Creçy). Invasion of *England* by the *Scots*. Defeat of the *Scots* at *Neevill's Cross* in Durham, and *capture of King David II.* (David Bruce).
1347. *Surrender of Calais* to Edward III. Return to England of Edward III. Foundation of the *Order of the Garter*.
1348-1349. Visitation of '*the Black Death*.'
1350. Death of *Philip VI.* of France. Accession of *John II.*
1351. First *Statute of Provisors*, to prevent the Pope from 'providing' his nominees with English benefices.
1352. First *Statute of Treasons* (treason and its penalties defined).
1353. *First Statute of Præmunire*, to prevent causes from being carried to the Pope's court.
1355. Beginning of the *third stage of the French war*. Campaign of the *Black Prince* in *Aquitaine*.
1356. Victory of the Black Prince at *Poitiers*. Capture of the French king, *John II.*
1360. Siege of *Paris* by *Edward III.* *Peace of Bretigny* (John II. to pay a great ransom. Edward III to give up his claim to the French crown, with Normandy, Anjou, and the northern provinces, in return for absolute sovereignty over Aquitaine and Calais).
1364. Death of *John II.* in England. Accession of *Charles V.*
1367. Expedition of the *Black Prince* to help *Pedro the Cruel of Castile*. Battle of *Navarrete*.
1369. Summons of the *Black Prince* to Paris to answer for his *taxation of Gascony*. Beginning of the *last stage of the war with France*.
1370. Invasion of *Gascony* by the French. Massacre by the English at *Limoges*.
1371. Death of *David II. of Scotland*. Accession of his brother-in-law, *Robert Stuart*.
1373. Expedition of *John of Gaunt* to *Calais* and *Bordeaux*.
1374. Loss of all the English dominions in France except *Calais*, *Bordeaux*, and *Bayonne*.
1376. Ascendancy of *John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster*, third son of Edward III. *The 'Good Parliament'* (*Impeachment* of the King's favourites. Opposition to John of Gaunt.) Growth of the power of the *House of Commons*. *Death of the Black Prince*. Renewed ascendancy of *John of Gaunt*.
1377. *Trial of Wyclif* at St. Paul's. *Death of Edward III.*

RICHARD II., 1377-1399.

Married (1) **Anne of Bohemia,** (2) **Isabella of France.**

1377. *Coronation* of Richard II., the eleven-year-old grandson of Edward III., son of the Black Prince. A *Council of Government* appointed. French ravages on the *South Coast*. *Rye* and *Hastings* burnt.
Beginning of the '*Great Schism*' in the Papacy.
1379. Imposition of a *graduated poll-tax*.

1380. A *graduated poll-tax* again imposed. Death of *Charles V.* of France. Accession of *Charles VI.*

1381. *The Rising of the Commons, or Peasant Revolt.* Revolt against taxation and enforcement of feudal rights in *Kent* under *John Ball* and *Wat Tyler*, in *Essex* under *Jack Straw*. Murder of *Simon of Sudbury*, Archbishop of Canterbury. Meeting of *Richard II* with the *Essex* rioters at *Mile End*. Grant of charters of freedom and dispersion of the rioters. Meeting of *Richard II.* with the *Kentish* rioters at *Smithfield*. Death of *Wat Tyler*. Dispersion of the Kentish rioters. Execution of *John Ball*. Suppression of the revolt. Charters granted by Richard annulled.

1382. *Marriage* of *Richard II.* and *Anne of Bohemia*. Continued influence of *John of Gaunt*.

1384. *Death of Wyclif.*

1385. Expedition of Richard II. to *Scotland*. Death of Richard's mother, the *Princess of Wales.*

1386. Departure of *John of Gaunt* for *Spain*. Richard's favourite, *De Vere*, Earl of Oxford, made *Duke of Ireland*. Opposition to Richard led by his uncle, *Thomas, Duke of Gloucester*, the *Earl of Arundel*, and his brother *Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely*. *Dismissal of Richard's ministers* demanded by Parliament. *Impeachment* of *Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk*, the Chancellor. (Impeachment, a *trial* before the *House of Lords* of a prisoner *accused* by the *House of Commons*, henceforward a common method of procedure in political cases.) *Condemnation* of Suffolk. Appointment of a *Council of Reform*, of eleven lords and bishops, to regulate the kingdom and the king's household.

1387. *Release of Suffolk* by Richard. The Council of Reform declared illegal by the judges.

The King's ministers, friends, and favourites 'appealed' or accused of treason by the five *Lords Appellant* [the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel, Derby, Nottingham, and Warwick). Defeat of *De Vere* at *Radcot Bridge* on the Thames. Flight of *De Vere* and *Suffolk*.

1388. *The 'Merciless' or 'Wonderful' Parliament.* The King's friends, De Vere, Suffolk, Neville, the Archbishop of York, Brember and Tressilian, found guilty of treason. Brember and Tressilian executed. Neville translated to St. Andrews. Impeachment of the judges and others.

Scottish victory over the English at *Otterburn.*

1389. *Assumption of the government by Richard II.* Beginning of the King's *eight years of constitutional rule*. Reconciliation with the *Appellants*. Return of *John of Gaunt.*

1390. *Statute of Provisors* (re-enacting Statutes of 1351 and 1362). *Ordinance against 'Livery and Maintenance,'* to check the nobles from 'maintaining' the interests of troops of retainers wearing their badge or 'livery.'

1391. *Statute of Mortmain* (re-enacting and expanding Statute of 1279).

1393. *Statute of Præmunire* (forfeiture of goods imposed as penalty for obtaining 'Bulls,' or other legal instruments, from the Pope).

1394. *Death of the Queen.* Visit of Richard II. to *Ireland*
1396. *Marriage of Richard II. and Isabella*, daughter of the French king, Charles VI. *Twenty-five years' truce* with France.
1397. Beginning of Richard's *despotic government. Arrest of the Appellants*, Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick. Murder or sudden death of Gloucester. Execution of the Earl of Arundel. Translation of his brother, now Archbishop of Canterbury, to St. Andrews. Imprisonment of Warwick.
1398. *Parliament of Shrewsbury.* Customs granted to the King for life Parliamentary authority delegated to a committee of eighteen. *Quarrel between Henry, Duke of Hereford*, formerly Earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, and the *Duke of Norfolk*, formerly Earl of Nottingham. *Banishment* of the two dukes by Richard II.
1399. *Death of John of Gaunt. Seizure of his estates* by the King *Expedition of Richard* to *Ireland. Landing of Hereford, now Duke of Lancaster, at Ravenspur in Yorkshire*, to claim his inheritance The *Percies, Nevilles*, and other lords, with the *Regent (the King's uncle, the Duke of York)*, on Lancaster's side. Return of *Archbishop Arundel.* Execution of Richard's agents, the *Earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green Return of Richard II.* to *Conway Castle.* His *submission.* His *resignation of the crown* presented to Parliament. *Deposition of Richard II. by Parliament* after hearing articles of accusation against him. *The crown claimed by Henry of Lancaster. Assent of Parliament. The revolution accomplished* (September 30, 1399).

HENRY IV., 1399-1413.

Married (1) **Mary de Bohun.** (2) **Joan of Navarre.**

1399. *Coronation of Henry IV.* Acts of *Richard's last Parliament* annulled. Acts of *the 'Merciless Parliament'* reinstated. *Richard II. condemned to perpetual imprisonment*, and removed from the Tower of London.
1400. *Conspiracy of the Earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and Salisbury* to restore Richard. *Death of Richard II.*, probably murdered in Pontefract (Pomfret) Castle His *funeral* celebrated
Rising of the *Welsh* under *Owen Glendower.*
Invasion of Scotland by Henry IV. to demand homage.
1401. *Act 'De Heretico Comburendo'* against the Lollards passed. *Welsh war.*
1402. *Scottish invasion* of England. Scots defeated by the *Percies* at *Homildon Hill. Earl Douglas* taken prisoner.
1403. Conspiracy of the *Percies, Mortimers, Glendower, and Douglas. Battle of Shrewsbury* Sir Henry Percy (Hotspur) killed.
1404. Alliance between the *Welsh* and the *French Quarrel* between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* for the Regency of France during the madness of the king, Charles VI.
1405. *Capture of James, heir to the Scottish throne* (afterwards James I. of Scotland), by the English.

Conspiracy of the *Earl of Northumberland* (Hotspur's father), *Lord Mowbray* (son of the exiled Duke of Norfolk), and *Archbishop Scrope* of York, in favour of the *Earl of March* (Edmund Mortimer, great-grandson of Lionel of Clarence, second son of Edward III., nearer to the throne in blood than Henry IV., the son of Edward III.'s *third* son). Failure of the revolt. Execution of *Mowbray* and *Scrope*. Unsuccessful expedition against *Glendower*.

1407. Murder of the *Duke of Orleans* at the instigation of the *Duke of Burgundy*.

1408. Revolt of the *Earl of Northumberland*. His defeat and death at *Bramham Moor*.

1411. Expedition to *France* to help the *Duke of Burgundy* against the party of the *Duke of Orleans*.

1412. Expedition to *France* to help the Orleanists against the Burgundians.

1413. *Death of Henry IV.*

HENRY V., 1413-1422.

Married **Katharine of France.**

1413. *Coronation* of Henry V.

1414. Meeting of disaffected *Lollards* at St. Giles' Fields under *Sir John Oldcastle*. New *Statute against the Lollards*.

1415. *The French crown claimed by Henry V.* Conspiracy to place *Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March*, on the throne. *Execution* of the conspirators, the *Earl of Cambridge*, *Lord Scrope*, and *Sir Thomas Grey*. *Beginning of the French war*. Siege and capture of *Harfleur*. March on *Calais*. *Battle of Agincourt* (October 25). *Return of Henry V. to England*.

1417. *Second expedition to France*. *Norman towns* taken. Invasion of England by the *Scots*. Capture and execution of *Sir John Oldcastle*.

1418. *Close of the Council of Constance*. A General Council for the reform of the Church.

The '*Great Schism*' ended by the deposition of the three rival Popes, and the election of *Martin V.*, nominated by the *Bishop of London*. Burning of *John Huss*, the Bohemian reformer who preached Wyclif's doctrines. English victories in *Normandy*. Massacre by the *Parisians*, in the interests of the *Burgundians*, of the *Orleanists* or *Armagnacs*.

1419. Assassination of *John, Duke of Burgundy*, by the *Dauphin*, in alliance with the *Armagnacs*. Alliance between the new Duke, *Philip the Good*, and Henry V. *Rouen* taken by the English.

1420. *Treaty of Troyes*. *Marriage* of Henry V. and Katharine of France.

1421. Death of the *Duke of Clarence*, brother of Henry V., in the Battle of *Beaugé*. Return of *Henry V.* to France.

1422. *Death of Henry V.*

HENRY VI., 1422-1461.

Married **Margaret of Anjou.**

Deposed, 1461; *restored*, 1470; *deposed and died*, 1471.

1422. *John, Duke of Bedford*, uncle of the King, made *Protector* of the realm. *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, his brother, to be Protector during Bedford's absence as *Regent in France*. Great power entrusted to the *Council*, now practically a Council of Regency. *Death of Charles VI. of France.*

1423. *Marriage* of the *Duke of Gloucester* with *Jacqueline of Hainault*. Quarrel with the *Duke of Burgundy* about her inheritance. *Marriage* of the *Duke of Bedford* with *Anne*, sister of the Duke of Burgundy. English victory at *Crevant.*

1424. Peace with *Scotland.* Release of *King James I.* English victory at *Verneuil.*

1425. *Quarrel* between *Gloucester* and his uncle, *Henry Beaufort*, half-brother of Henry IV.

1426. Reconciliation between *Gloucester* and *Beaufort.* *Beaufort* made a *Cardinal.*

1428. *Siege of Orleans* begun.

1429. French defeated by Sir John Fastolfe in the '*Battle of Herrings*,' near Orleans. *Siege of Orleans raised* by *Joan of Arc* (Jeanne d'Arc). English defeated in the Battle of *Patay*. *The Dauphin* (Charles VII.) crowned at *Rheims.* *Coronation of Henry VI.* at Westminster. End of the Protectorate.

1430. *Capture of Joan of Arc* by the Burgundians. The '*Maid of Orleans*,' *Joan of Arc*, sold to the English.

1431. *Joan of Arc burnt as a heretic at Rouen.* *Coronation of Henry VI. at Paris* as King of France.

1432. Death of the *Duchess of Bedford.*

1435. *Congress of Arras.* Conditions of peace refused by the English. Death of the *Duke of Bedford.* Desertion of the English by the *Duke of Burgundy*. Alliance between *Burgundy and France.* *Richard, Duke of York* (son of the Earl of Cambridge executed in 1415), made *Regent of France.*

1436. Taking of *Paris* by the French. Murder of *James I. of Scotland.*

1437. The *Duke of York* succeeded by the *Earl of Warwick* as *Regent of France.*

1440. *Second Regency* of the *Duke of York* in France.

1442. *Henry VI. of age.*

1444. *Truce with France* negotiated by *William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk.*

1445. *Marriage of Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou.* Match concluded by *Cardinal Beaufort* and *Suffolk.* *Anjou and Maine* to be given up to the Queen's father, *René of Anjou.*

1447. *Arrest of Gloucester* on a charge of high treason. *Gloucester found dead* (May 23). *Suffolk* suspected of his murder. Death of *Cardinal Beaufort.* *Richard, Duke of York* (now heir-apparent to the crown), made *Lieutenant* or *Governor of Ireland.* *Edmund*

Beaufort, the Cardinal's nephew, Lieutenant in France. *Suffolk* chief minister.

1448 *Edmund Beaufort* made *Duke of Somerset*. Cession of *Maine*. *Truce for two years.*

1449 *Truce broken* by the capture of *Fougères* by a captain in Henry VI.'s service. *Normandy* overrun by the French, and *Rouen* taken.

War with *Scotland*, followed by a truce.

Unpopularity of *Suffolk* and his party.

1450. Murder of *Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester*, Suffolk's partisan, at Portsmouth (January). *Impeachment of Suffolk* (February). Surrender of Suffolk to 'the king's mercy.' His *banishment* and *murder at sea* (May 2). *Rising of Jack Cade*, a pretended Mortimer, who was followed by the men of the Southern Counties, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. Murder of *Ascough*, Bishop of Salisbury, Suffolk's partisan. *London* entered by the mob *Lord Say*, the Treasurer, beheaded. *Defeat of the rioters on London Bridge*. Suppression of the rising. *Cade*, attempting to raise fresh forces, caught and slain. *Return* of the *Duke of York* from *Ireland*, and of the *Duke of Somerset* from *France.*

Final loss of the English dominions in *Normandy.*

1451. Loss of *Bordeaux and Bayonne.*

Proposal in House of Commons to declare *York* heir to the throne.

1452 Rivalry between *York and Somerset*. March of York on London with an armed force. Charges against Somerset. York forced to swear fealty to the King and to submit.

1453. Defeat and death of *Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury* at *Châtillon*. Final loss of all the English dominions in France except Calais.

Illness of Henry VI. Birth of his son Edward (October).

Arrest and imprisonment of *Somerset.*

1454. *York appointed Protector* of the realm.

1455. *Recovery of Henry VI. Dismissal of York. Release of Somerset. Arms taken up by York*, his brother-in-law the *Earl of Salisbury*, and Salisbury's son, the *Earl of Warwick. Beginning of the Wars of the Roses. First Battle of St. Albans. Death of Somerset. Capture of Henry VI. Second illness of Henry VI. and second Protectorate of York.*

1456. *Recovery* of the King. Lancastrian intrigues with *Scotland and France.*

1458. *Great reconciliation of the two parties at St. Paul's* (March 25). *Warwick* at Calais.

1459. Final breach. *Battle of Blore Heath*, brought about by the Queen's attempt to arrest *Salisbury*. *Yorkists* victorious. *Duke of York* surprised by the royal forces at *Ludlow*, and forced to fly to Ireland. Flight of *Salisbury and Warwick* to Calais. *Act of Attainder* passed against York and his friends.

1460. *Return of Salisbury, Warwick, and Edward, Earl of March*, York's son. Yorkist victory at *Northampton*. Capture of the King. Flight of the Queen. *Claim to the throne made by the Duke of York.* York declared by the Lords heir to Henry VI., but Henry to reign for his life. Forces raised by the Queen.

Great Lancastrian victory at Wakefield. York killed. Salisbury taken prisoner and executed (December 29).

1461. Victory of *Edward, Earl of March*, at *Mortimer's Cross* (February 3). *Second Battle of St. Albans* (February 17). Defeat of *Warwick* by *the Queen*. Release of *Henry VI.* Retirement of Henry and Margaret to the North. *Edward, Earl of March, proclaimed king in London* as *Edward IV.* (March 4).

EDWARD IV., 1461-1483.

Married **Elizabeth Woodville.**

1461. Yorkist victories of *Ferrybridge* (March 28) and *Towton* (March 29). Escape of *Margaret, Henry, and Prince Edward* to *Scotland*.
Formal coronation of Edward IV. at Westminster (June 28). *A Bill of Attainder* in the form of an Act of Parliament passed against Henry, Margaret, and their friends.
Death of *Charles VII.* of France. Accession of *Louis XI.*

1464. Lancastrian defeats of *Hedgeley Moor* (April 25) and *Hexham* (May 15). Capture and execution of *Somerset*.
George Neville made *Archbishop of York*.
Announcement of Edward IV.'s marriage (September).

1465. *Capture of Henry VI.* His imprisonment in the Tower.
Rivalry between the *Nevilles* and the *Woodvilles*.

1467. Death of *Philip the Good*, Duke of Burgundy. Succeeded by *Charles the Bold*. *French ambassadors* rudely treated by Edward IV. Alliance between Edward IV. and *Burgundy*.

1468. Marriage of Edward IV.'s sister, *Margaret*, with *Charles the Bold*

1469. *Renewal of Civil War*. Marriage of the *Duke of Clarence*, Edward IV.'s brother, and *Isabella Neville*, Warwick's daughter.
Revolt of 'Robin of Redesdale' in the North of England. *Battle of Edgecote* (July 26). Rebels victorious. *Imprisonment of Edward IV.* by *Warwick*, now in alliance with *Clarence*. Terms made by Edward with Warwick. *Reconciliation*.

1470. *Rebellion in Lincolnshire* suppressed by Edward in the Battle of *'Lose-coat Field.'* *Warwick and Clarence* implicated. Their *flight to France* and *reconciliation with Margaret of Anjou* by the mediation of *Louis XI.* Betrothal of *Prince Edward* to *Anne Neville*, Warwick's daughter. Landing of *Warwick* at *Dartmouth*. Flight of *Edward IV.* to *Flanders*. *Restoration of Henry VI.*

1471. Landing of *Edward IV* at *Ravenspur* (March) with a *Burgundian* force. Joined by *Clarence*. *Battle of Barnet* (April 14). Death of *Warwick*. Landing of *Margaret of Anjou* at *Weymouth* (April 14). Yorkist victory at *Tewkesbury* (May 4). Death of *Prince Edward*. *Death of Henry VI. in the Tower* (May 21).

1473. *Marriage* of *Richard of Gloucester* and *Anne Neville*, Warwick's daughter.

1474. League made by *Edward IV.* and *Charles the Bold* against *Louis XI.*

1475. *Expedition to France*. Landing of *Edward IV.* at *Calais*. *Edward IV. bought off by Louis XI.* in the *Treaty of Pecquigny*.

1477. *Charles the Bold* of Burgundy defeated and killed by the Swiss at *Nancy*.

1478. *George, Duke of Clarence*, distrusted by Edward, condemned by an *Act of Attainder*, and executed in the *Tower*, (drowned, according to tradition, in a butt of Malmsey wine).

1483 *Death of Edward IV.* (April 9). Death of *Louis XI.* Accession of *Charles VIII.*

EDWARD V., April to June, 1483.

1483. Dispute between the *Woodville* party, led by the *Queen*, and the *Council*, led by Edward IV.'s brother, *Richard, Duke of Gloucester*, the *Duke of Buckingham*, and *Lord Hastings*, over the *guardianship* of the little King (born 1470). Arrest and imprisonment by Gloucester and Buckingham of *Lord Rivers*, the King's uncle, and *Sir Richard Grey*, his half-brother. Entry of *Edward V.* and the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham* into *London* (May 4). The *Duke of Gloucester* proclaimed *Protector* of the kingdom by the Council, led by *Hastings*. *Plot of Gloucester and Buckingham* to crown Gloucester. The loyal *Hastings* beheaded, on a pretext of treason (June 13). *The crown offered to Gloucester* by a body of lords and others (June 25). *Declaration by Richard of Gloucester in Westminster Hall of his right as hereditary and elected king* (June 26). *Execution of Rivers and Grey* at Pontefract (Pomfret).

RICHARD III., 1483-1485.

Married **Anne Neville**.

1483. *Coronation of Richard III. and his Queen* (July 6). *Progress* through the kingdom. *Disappearance of Edward V. and his brother Richard, Duke of York*, who had been imprisoned in the Tower. Rebellion of *Buckingham* in alliance with *Morton, Bishop of Ely*, the *Woodvilles*, and the *Greys*. Conspiracy to place on the throne *Henry, Earl of Richmond* (son of *Margaret Beaufort*, Countess of Richmond, great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt and *Edmund Tudor*, Earl of Richmond, who died in 1456). *Buckingham*, prevented from leaving *Wales* to join the other conspirators by a flood of the Severn, *betrayed* to the King, and *executed*.

1484. Death of Richard's only son, *Edward, Prince of Wales*. *John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln*, son of Richard's sister Elizabeth and of the Duke of Suffolk, declared *heir to the throne*.

1485. *Death of the Queen*. Proposal of Richard to marry his niece, *Elizabeth of York*. *Landing of Henry, Earl of Richmond, at Milford Haven* (August 7). Complete defeat of Richard in the *Battle of Bosworth* (August 22). *Richard III. killed*. *The crown of England* picked up on the field of battle and placed on the Earl of Richmond's head amid cries of '*King Henry!*'

HENRY VII., 1485-1509.

Married **Elizabeth of York.**

1485. *Coronation of Henry VII.* in London.
Imprisonment in the Tower of the *Earl of Warwick*, son of Clarence.
1486. *Marriage of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York.*
Failure of a *rebellion* raised by *Lord Lovel.*
1487. Revolt of *Lambert Simnel*, who claimed to be the Earl of Warwick.
Defeat of the rebels at *Stoke.* The *Earl of Lincoln* killed.
1488. English troops sent to France to help *Brittany* against *Charles VIII*
1489. Brittany united to France by the *marriage* of *Charles VIII* and *Anne of Brittany.*
1492. *Perkin Warbeck* brought forward in Ireland as *Richard, Duke of York.* Invited to *France.*
Discovery of *Hispaniola* by *Christopher Columbus.*
War between *England and France* over the independence of *Brittany.* Peace made by the *Treaty of Étaples.*
1493. *Warbeck*, after the peace, expelled from *France*, and received in Flanders.
1494. *Poynings' law passed in Ireland:* (1) No Parliament to be summoned in Ireland without the English King's consent; (2) no Bill to pass the Irish Parliament without the approval of the English Council; (3) all recent legislation in England to be binding in Ireland.
1495. Execution of *Sir William Stanley* for corresponding with *Warbeck.* Unsuccessful attempt of *Warbeck* on England. *Warbeck* in *Ireland* and *Scotland.*
Statute passed to protect those obeying a king *de facto*
1496. The '*Great Intercourse*' (Intercursus Magnus) a commercial treaty with Flanders drawn up.
Invasion of the North by *Warbeck* and *James IV. of Scotland.*
1497. *Rebellion* against *taxation* in *Cornwall.* *Warbeck*, expelled from Scotland, landing in Cornwall too late to join the rebels, *taken prisoner.*
Mainland of America discovered by *John Cabot.*
1498. *Sea route to India* discovered by *Vasco di Gama.*
Death of *Charles VIII.* of France. Accession of *Louis XII.*
1499. *Execution of Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick* for a joint attempt to escape from prison.
1501. *Marriage of Arthur*, eldest son of Henry VII., and *Katharine of Aragon*, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile.
1502. *Death of Arthur* — *Katharine* contracted to his brother *Henry*
1503. Marriage of *Margaret*, daughter of Henry VII., and *James IV. of Scotland.*
1506. The *Earl of Suffolk* (Edmund de la Pole), nephew of Edward IV., delivered into Henry VII.'s hands.
1509. *Death of Henry VII.*

HENRY VIII., 1509-1547.

Married (1) **Katharine of Aragon**, (2) **Anne Boleyn**, (3) **Jane Seymour**, (4) **Anne of Cleves**, (5) **Katharine Howard**, (6) **Katharine Parr.**

1509. *Marriage* of *Henry VIII.* and *Katharine of Aragon.*

1510. Execution for high treason of *Empson* and *Dudley*, Henry VII.'s ministers.

1511 The '*Holy League*' joined by Henry. (Spain, the Pope, and England against France.)

1512. English *expedition* to *South of France.*

1513. Execution of *Suffolk.*
English *expedition* to *Flanders.* Victory of *Guinegaste* ('Battle of the Spurs'), after which *Terouenne* and *Tournay* surrendered to Henry.
Scotch war. Battle of *Flodden Field* in the Cheviots. Severe defeat of the Scots. *James IV. slain.*

1514. *Peace* established with *France* and with *Scotland.*

1515. Death of *Louis XII.* of France. Accession of *Francis I.*
Wolsey made *Cardinal* and *Lord Chancellor.*

1516. Birth of *Mary*, daughter of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon.

1517. *Wolsey* made *Papal Legate* in England.
Beginning of *Martin Luther's* attack on the Roman Church in Germany.

1519 *Charles I of Spain* elected Emperor (Charles V.).

1520. England hovering between alliance with *France and Spain. Two great Conferences:* (1) '*Field of the Cloth of Gold*,' near Calais, between *Henry* and *Francis I.*; (2) meeting at *Gravelines* between Henry and *Charles V.* Result: *Treaty with Spain.*

1521. Execution for high treason of the *Duke of Buckingham.*

1522. Visit of *Charles V.* to England.
English army sent against *France.*

1523. Bitter struggle in the *House of Commons* over *taxation* to carry out *Wolsey's* schemes. The Opposition led by *Sir Thomas More*, the Speaker.

1525. *Treaty between Henry VIII. and France.*
Outbreak of the *Peasants' War* in Germany.
Battle of Pavia in Italy between *Francis I.* and *Charles V. Francis I. taken prisoner.*

1527 *Sack of Rome* by Spanish troops. *Pope Clement VII.* a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo.
Henry VIII.'s appeal to the Pope for a divorce from Katharine of Aragon.

1528 The *marriage case* tried in England by *Cardinals Campeggio* and *Wolsey.*

1529. *Appeal of Katharine to the Pope.* Case cited to Rome.
Disgrace of Wolsey. Sir Thomas More made *Chancellor.*
Meeting of the *Reformation Parliament.* (During seven years the work carried out of separating the English Church from Rome.)

1530. *Cranmer* sent to the *Pope* to report the favourable decision of the *Universities* on the *divorce question.*

Wolsey arrested for high treason. His *death* at Leicester, on the road from York to London.

1531. The clergy forced to acknowledge Henry '*Head of the Church and clergy as far as the law of Christ will allow.*'

1533. Act passed in Parliament *restraining appeals to Rome*
Marriage of Henry VIII. and *Anne Boleyn* (January)
Cranmer appointed *Archbishop of Canterbury.*
Birth of *Elizabeth*, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn (September).

1534. Act forbidding *payment of annates to Rome.* Clergy forbidden to *pass laws in Convocation.*
Succession to the throne settled on children of Anne Boleyn.
Imprisonment of More and Fisher for refusing to accept settlement
Execution of the 'Nun of Kent,' a half-crazy girl put forward by the priests as the leader of a *rebellion* in that county.
Act abolishing the authority of the Pope in England.

1535. *Act of Supremacy.* Title 'Supreme Head of the Church in England' taken by Henry.
Execution of Fisher and More.
Thomas Cromwell appointed *Vicar-General.*

1536. Death of *Katharine of Aragon.*
Dissolution of the smaller monasteries.
Execution of Anne Boleyn. Henry's marriage with *Jane Seymour.*
Outbreak of the '*Pilgrimage of Grace,*' a rebellion in the North. Rebels demanded restoration of monasteries and punishment of heretic bishops. Severely repressed.
Lands of *Lords Marchers* abolished. Old *shires of Wales* enlarged. *Five new shires* added—Denbigh, Radnor, Montgomery, Monmouth, Brecknock. *Wales* began to send *members to the English Parliament. Council for Wales* established.

1537. The *Council of the North*, afterwards one of the most tyrannous of the Tudor courts, set up to preserve order.
Birth of *Edward*, son of Henry VIII. and of Jane Seymour.
Death of Jane Seymour.

1538. Execution of the *Marquis of Exeter* (grandson of Edward IV.).

1539. The King's *proclamations* declared *law.*
Dissolution of the greater monasteries.
Act of Six Articles passed enforcing adherence to the most important of the former articles of belief.

1540. *Marriage of Henry VIII.* and *Anne of Cleves*, shortly followed by divorce.
Execution of Thomas Cromwell, the King's chief agent in the Reformation.
Marriage of Henry and *Katharine Howard.*

1541. *Execution of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury*, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, and widow of Sir Richard Pole.

1542. *Title of 'King' instead of 'Lord' of Ireland* assumed by Henry VIII.
Execution of Katharine Howard.
Panic and flight of the *Scots* at *Solway Moss.*
Death of James V. of Scotland. Succeeded by his daughter *Mary.*

1543. *Marriage of Henry VIII.* and *Katharine Parr.*
Treaty for marriage between *Prince Edward* and *Mary Queen of Scots*

1544. *Lord Hertford* (afterwards Protector Somerset) and *Lord Lisle* (afterwards Earl of Warwick) sent to invade *Scotland*.
War with *France*. Capture of *Boulogne*.
1545. Heavy *taxation* in the form of a 'benevolence' or gift to the King.
Meeting of the *Council of Trent* on the Continent.
1546. Imprisonment on a charge of treason of the *Duke of Norfolk* and his son, the *Earl of Surrey*.
1547. *Execution of Surrey*. *Death of Henry VIII.*

EDWARD VI., 1547-1553.

1547. *Hertford*, Edward's uncle, created *Duke of Somerset* and *Protector*.
A visitation of the dioceses ordered for the destruction of images and pictures and for enforcing the use of English in services.
Imprisonment of *Bonner*, Bishop of London, and *Gardiner*, Bishop of Winchester.
Invasion of Scotland by Somerset to enforce the royal marriage treaty between England and Scotland. Defeat of the Scots at *Pinkie Cleugh*.
Henry VIII.'s *newly-created treasons* and the Proclamations Act repealed.
1549. *First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. issued*. *First Act of Uniformity*.
Execution of Lord Seymour on a charge of treason.
Ket's rebellion in Norfolk (chiefly directed against enclosure of common lands,) suppressed.
Rebellion in Devon and Cornwall (chiefly religious) put down.
Siege of Boulogne by the French.
Disgrace of Somerset. His resignation of the Protectorship.
Succeeded by *John Dudley, Earl of Warwick*.
1550. *Peace with France*. *Boulogne* surrendered by the English.
1551. *Warwick* made *Earl of Northumberland*.
Somerset imprisoned on a charge of high treason.
1552. *Execution of Somerset*.
Alteration in Treason Law (evidence of two witnesses henceforth considered necessary to convict the accused).
Second Act of Uniformity. *Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. issued*.
1553. The *King* persuaded by *Northumberland* to leave the crown to his daughter-in-law, *Lady Jane Grey*, (great-granddaughter of Henry VII.).
Death of Edward VI.

MARY, 1553-1558.

Married **Philip II. of Spain.**

1553. *Lady Jane Grey proclaimed Queen* in London.
Help given to Mary by the *Howards* of Norfolk.
Northumberland, deserted by his own followers, seized, imprisoned, and executed.
Lady Jane Grey and her husband, *Lord Guildford Dudley*, imprisoned in the Tower.

Release of *Bonner and Gardiner*. Gardiner made Chancellor.
All laws about religion passed in Edward VI.'s reign *annulled*.

1554. Failure of *rebellion* of *Sir Thomas Wyatt* and the *Duke of Suffolk*, Lady Jane's father, on behalf of *Princess Elizabeth*.
Execution of *Wyatt*, *Suffolk*, *Lady Jane Grey*, and *Lord Guildford Dudley*. *Princess Elizabeth* imprisoned.
Marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain. Beginning of Spanish influence in England.
All statutes against the Pope since the twentieth year of Henry VIII.'s reign *repealed*.

1555. *Statutes against heretics* revived.
Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, *Rogers*, a canon of St. Paul's, and others *burnt*.
Persecutions throughout Kent, Sussex, and Eastern Counties.
Latimer and Ridley burnt at Oxford (October).

1556. *Archbishop Cranmer* burnt at Oxford.
Cardinal Pole (a Roman Catholic) made archbishop.
Failure of a *conspiracy* on behalf of *Elizabeth*.

1557. *National Covenant* signed by *Scottish Protestants*.
War declared by *England* against *France* in the interests of *Spain*.
Spanish and English victory at *St. Quentin*.

1558. *Calais besieged and captured by the French*, after having been held by England for more than two hundred years.
Marriage of *Mary Queen of Scots* with *the Dauphin* (afterwards Francis II.) of France.
Death of Queen Mary.

ELIZABETH, 1558-1603.

1558. *Cecil* appointed Secretary of State.
Part of the *Church services* to be read in English.
Rejection by Elizabeth of *Philip of Spain's offer of marriage*.

1559. *New Act of Supremacy*. Title 'Supreme Head of the Church' dropped.
Revised Prayer-Book, based on second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., issued.
Peace with France. Death of *Henry II.* of France. Accession of *Francis II.*
Matthew Parker made Archbishop of Canterbury.
Interference of *England* in the war between *Mary of Guise* (mother of Mary Queen of Scots) and the *Scottish Protestants*.

1560. *Treaty of Edinburgh* (Mary of Scotland and her husband, Francis II. abandoned their claim to the English throne).
Death of *Francis II.* of France. Accession of *Charles IX.*

1562. Help sent by *England* to the *French Protestants*.

1563. The forty-two Articles of Belief reduced to thirty-nine, and signed by Convocation.

1564. Many livings resigned by the *London clergy* rather than obey Parker.

1565. Marriage of *Mary Queen of Scots* and her cousin, *Lord Darnley*.

1566. *Peace with France*.

1567. *Murder of Darnley*. Marriage of *Queen Mary* and *Earl Bothwell*.

1568. Escape of *Mary* to England. Her case investigated in a *Conference at York.*
1569. Imprisonment of *Norfolk* for wishing to marry Mary.
Rising of the North. Rebellion led by *Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland* in favour of *Queen Mary. Flight of the Earls.* Revolt severely repressed.
1570. *Elizabeth excommunicated* by *Pope Pius V.*
1571. *Severe laws against Roman Catholics passed.*
Discovery of the *Ridolfi plot. Consequent execution of the Duke of Norfolk.*
1572. *Massacre of St. Bartholomew.* Great slaughter of Protestants in France.
1574. Death of *Charles IX.* of France. *Accession* of *Henry III.*
1575. Appeal of the *Netherlanders*, persecuted by Spain, to England for help.
1576. *Grindal* made Archbishop of Canterbury.
1577. *Grindal* suspended from office for failing to suppress Puritans.
1579. *Rebellion of Desmond* in Ireland. Massacre of *Smerwick.*
1580. Landing of *Campion and Parsons*, leaders of the *Jesuit* movement.
1581. Discovery of the '*Throgmorton Plot.*' Execution of *Campion.*
1583. *Whitgift* made Archbishop of Canterbury.
Permanent establishment of the '*Court of High Commission*,' to punish offences against the ecclesiastical system.
1584. *Association of Englishmen* formed to protect Elizabeth's life from plots.
Murder of *William of Orange*, leader of the Protestants of the Netherlands.
1585. The *Earl of Leicester* sent to help the *Netherlanders.*
1586. Failure of the '*Babington Plot.*'
Trial and condemnation of Mary Queen of Scots.
Battle of *Zutphen*, in the Netherlands. Death of *Sir Philip Sidney.*
1587. *Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.*
Bull issued against Elizabeth by *Pope Sixtus V.*
The '*Marprelate Tracts*,' attacking and libelling the bishops, issued.
Preparations for the Armada. Expedition of *Drake* to *Cadiz.*
1588. *Defeat of the Spanish Armada.*
Death of the *Earl of Leicester.*
1589. Murder of *Henry III.* of France. Accession of *Henry IV.*
1590. *Henry of Navarre* (Henry IV. of France), victorious at *Ivry* over the family of *Guise* and *Philip of Spain*, who opposed his claims.
Death of Elizabeth's minister *Walsingham.*
1591. English troops sent to help *Henry IV.*
1592. *Presbyterian Church* established in *Scotland.*
1593. *Severe Acts* against both *Protestants* and *Roman Catholics.*
1595. *Rebellion of Tyrone* (Hugh O'Neill) in *Ireland*, assisted by *Spain.*
1596. *Cadiz* sacked by *Essex* and *Howard.*
1598. The *Edict of Nantes*, granting toleration to Protestants, issued by Henry IV. of France.
Death of *Cecil.* Death of *Philip II. of Spain.*
1599. Failure of *Essex* to pacify *Ireland.* His return without Elizabeth's consent.

1600. *Essex* concerned in a *plot against the throne.*
First *Charter* granted to the *East India Company.*
1601. *Execution of Essex.*
First regular *Poor Law* passed. (Churchwardens and overseers in every parish to levy rates to support the feeble and aged, apprentice poor children, and set able-bodied paupers to work.)
1602. *Earl of Tyrone* subdued.
1603. *Death of Queen Elizabeth.*

JAMES I., 1603-1625.

Married **Anne of Denmark.**

1603. Accession of *James Stuart*, son of Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley, and great-grandson of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., who married James IV. of Scotland.
Presentation of the '*Millenary Petition*' by the Puritans, for the revision of the Prayer-Book.
Imprisonment of *Sir Walter Ralegh* for a plot against James.
1604. *Hampton Court Conference* between the bishops and the Puritans.
Bancroft made Archbishop of Canterbury.
First Parliament of James. (Laws against Roman Catholics. Complaints of 'impositions.' Rejection of 'Great Contract.' Cecil's proposal that the King should give up impositions and feudal dues in exchange for £200,000 a year.)
1605. *Gunpowder Plot* discovered.
1606. Severe laws passed against *Roman Catholics.*
1607. Rejection by the Commons of a proposal for the *union of England and Scotland.*
1610. *Bancroft* succeeded by *Abbott* as Archbishop of Canterbury.
Assassination of Henry IV. of France. Accession of *Louis XIII.*
1612. Death of *Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.*
Carr, afterwards *Earl of Somerset*, the King's chief minister.
Death of *Henry*, eldest son of the King.
1613. *Marriage* of *Elizabeth*, the King's daughter, and the *Elector Palatine.*
1614. *Second Parliament*, the '*Addled Parliament.*' (Quarrel with the King over religion and 'impositions.' Dissolved without passing any measures.)
1616. *Sir Walter Ralegh* released, and allowed to conduct an expedition to South America.
Somerset disgraced; succeeded by *Villiers.*
1618. *Sir Walter Ralegh executed* for attacking Spanish possessions.
Beginning of the *Thirty Years' War* in Europe.
1619. Help sought from James by the *Elector Palatine*, King of Bohemia
1620. Proposed marriage alliance with *Spain.*
1621. *Third Parliament.* (Protest 'that the liberties and privileges of the Commons are the birthright of the subject.' Impeachment of Bacon).
1622. *War with Spain* urged by Parliament.
1623. Expedition of *Prince Charles* and Buckingham to Spain. Negotiations for a marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta.

1624. *War declared against Spain* on behalf of the Elector Palatine.
Marriage treaty concluded with *France*.
Fourth Parliament (money voted for a maritime war against Spain. Impeachment of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer).
1625. *Death of James I.*

CHARLES I., 1625-1649.

Married **Henrietta Maria of France.**

1625. *Marriage* of *Charles I.* and *Henrietta Maria* of France.
First Parliament. (Tonnage and poundage granted for one year instead of for the King's life. *Montague*, King's chaplain, censured for doctrine.)
English ships used by France against Protestants in *La Rochelle*.
Failure of expedition against *Cadiz*.
1626. *Second Parliament*. (Impeachment of *Buckingham*. Supplies refused.)
Money collected by *forced loans*.
1627. *War declared against France* on behalf of the Huguenots.
Unsuccessful expedition to the *Isle of Rhé*.
Soldiers and sailors *billeted* on private persons; *Martial Law* established.
Imprisonment and trial of *John Hampden* and others for refusing forced loans.
1628. *Third Parliament*. (*Mainwaring's* sermons condemned. *Petition of Right* that (1) no taxes or loans should be levied except by Parliament; (2) no man should be imprisoned without a cause being given; (3) no soldiers should be billeted in private houses; (4) no one should be tried by martial law. *Protestation* that (1) any man who should bring in innovations in religion, (2) any man who should pay, or advise the payment of, tonnage and poundage, should be accounted an enemy of the kingdom, and deserving of death.)
Laud made *Bishop of London*.
Wentworth made President of the *Council of the North*.
Buckingham murdered.
1629. *Riot in Parliament; Sir John Eliot* imprisoned.
1630. *Peace* with *France* and *Spain*.
Rich men obliged to *purchase knighthood*.
1632. Death of *Sir John Eliot* in the Tower.
Wentworth made *Lord Deputy of Ireland*.
1633. *Laud* made *Archbishop of Canterbury*.
1634. *Ship-money* levied on *seaport towns*.
1635. *Ship-money* levied on *inland towns and counties*.
1637. *Hampden tried for refusal to pay ship-money*.
Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton condemned by *Star Chamber*.
New Liturgy resisted by the *Scotch*.
1638. Arms taken up by the *Scotch* against *episcopacy*.
1639. *First Bishops' War*. *Pacification of Berwick*.
1640. *Fourth or 'Short' Parliament*. (Demand for redress of grievances before supplies granted. *Dissolution* without a grant.)

Second Bishops' War. Invasion of England by Scots. Advance on Ripon. *Treaty of Ripon.* (Scotch army to be paid by King till dispute settled.)

Fifth or 'Long' Parliament (November). *Impeachment of Strafford, Wentworth, and Laud.*

1641. *Commission* issued by the Commons to deface images, altars, and monuments in churches.

Triennial Act. (No Parliament to last more than three years. Not more than three years to elapse between the dissolution of one and the assembly of another Parliament.)

Bill of Attainder against Strafford (March).

Bill to exclude Bishops from the House of Lords (March)

Promise made by King that Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent (May).

Execution of Strafford (May 12).

Abolition of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, ship-money, and other extra-legal taxes.

Visit of the King to Scotland (August). *Recess of Parliament* (September to October).

Rebellion in Ireland (October).

The 'Grand Remonstrance' passed (November 22), 'showing again' all the unpopular acts of the King.

Impeachment of the Bishops (December 30).

1642. Attempt of the King to arrest the *Five Members* (Hampden, Pym, Holles, Haselrig, and Strode) charged with high treason (January 4).

Departure of the King from London (January 10).

Exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords accepted by Charles

Control of the Militia demanded by *the Commons* (March).

Beginning of the Civil War or 'Great Rebellion.'

Gates of *Hull* shut to the King (April).

Nineteen Propositions sent to Charles at York by Parliament, and rejected (June).

The King's Standard set up at Nottingham (August 22).

Stage plays ordered to cease by Parliament. *Abolition of episcopacy* by Parliament.

Battle of Edgehill (October 23)—indecisive.

Brentford taken by the King after a sharp fight (November 13).

Retreat of the King to Oxford.

1643. *Negotiations at Oxford* (February).

Formation of the *Association of the Eastern Counties.*

Discovery of *Waller's Plot* against Parliament.

Hampden defeated and mortally wounded at *Chalgrove Field* (June 18).

Fairfax defeated at *Atherton Moor* (June 30).

Defeat of *Waller* at *Roundway Down. Bristol* taken by *Rupert* (July).

Victory of *Cromwell* at *Gainsborough* (July 25).

Siege of Gloucester raised by *Essex. First Battle of Newbury*—indecisive (September).

The Solemn League and Covenant signed by Parliament with the Scotch (September).

Westminster Assembly convened to deal with religion.
Death of Pym. *Death of Louis XIII*. Succeeded by *Louis XIV*.
1644. *Scottish army* in England.
Royal Parliament at *Oxford*.
Irish contingent defeated by *Fairfax* at *Nantwich* (January).
Royalist victory at *Cropredy Bridge* (June).
Defeat of *Rupert* at *Marston Moor* (July).
Surrender of *Essex* at *Lostwithiel* (August).
Second Battle of Newbury—indecisive (October).
1645. *Execution of Archbishop Laud* (January).
Negotiations at Uxbridge (February).
The Self-denying Ordinance, depriving Members of Parliament of civil or military office, passed (April).
Parliamentary army remodelled, and put under the command of *Fairfax*.
Siege of Oxford by Fairfax (May).
Defeat of the King at Naseby (June).
Bristol surrendered by Rupert (September).
Royalists defeated at *Rowton Heath*, near Chester (September).
1646. *Surrender of the King to the Scottish army at Newark* (May).
Surrender of Oxford to Fairfax (June).
1647. *The King given up by the Scots to Parliament*.
Attempt by *Parliament* to disband the *army*.
The King taken to *Newmarket* by a Commissioner for the *Army*.
Eleven leading Members of Parliament expelled by the *Army*.
Flight of the King from the care of the *Army* at *Hampton Court* to the *Isle of Wight* (Carisbrooke Castle).
1648. *Royalist risings* put down in Kent, Essex, and Wales.
Scottish army defeated by *Cromwell* at *Preston*, *Wigan*, and *Warrington*.
Terms offered by *Parliament* to the *King* (September).
Presbyterians expelled from the House of Commons by Colonel Pride ('Pride's Purge').
The *trial of the King* voted by the remaining members of the Commons.
1649. *King brought before the High Court of Justice*.
Execution of Charles I. (January 30).

THE COMMONWEALTH, 1649-1660.

1649. *House of Lords* abolished. Government by a '*single person*' abolished.
Council of State appointed.
An Act passed to constitute England a Commonwealth.
Expedition of Cromwell to Ireland. *Drogheda* and *Wexford stormed*.
1650. *King Charles II*. in *Scotland*.
Expedition of Cromwell to Scotland. Victory of *Cromwell* over *Leslie* in the *Battle of Dunbar* (September 3).
1651. *Cromwell* victorious over *King Charles* and *Leslie* at *Worcester* (September 3).
Escape of *Charles II*. to France.

The *Navigation Act* passed, forbidding goods to be brought to England in any but English vessels.

November 3, 1654, fixed by Parliament as the day of its *dissolution*.

1652. *Naval victory of Blake over Tromp*, the Dutch Admiral (May 19) *War declared against the Dutch* (July). *Victory of Tromp over Blake* (November).

1653. Attempt by Parliament to pass the *Perpetuation Bill* (brought in, August, 1652), to allow all present members to keep their seats.

The members of the 'Long Parliament' *expelled by Cromwell* (April 20).

Council of State appointed by Cromwell and the Army.

Meeting of 'Barebone's' or the *'Little Parliament,'* nominated by the Council (July).

Naval victories over the *Dutch*.

Resignation by 'Barebone's Parliament' of its power into Cromwell's hands (December).

The 'Instrument of Government' published, making Cromwell *Protector* (December).

1654 Board of *'triers'* appointed to examine characters of ministers of religion.

Peace concluded with the Dutch.

Discovery of *Vowell's plot* to murder Cromwell.

First Protectorate Parliament. (Cromwell's authority questioned by the Republican members. About a hundred members excluded by Cromwell.)

1655. *Parliament dissolved* by Cromwell, after sitting five months (January).

Jamaica taken from Spain.

England divided into eleven military districts, each under a Major-General.

Treaty with France against Spain.

Second Protectorate Parliament. (About ninety members excluded.)

Interference of Cromwell to prevent the persecution of the *Vaudois Protestants.*

1657. *The title of king* offered to *Cromwell* by *Parliament* and *refused*.

The 'Humble Petition and Advice' presented, proposing: (1) Government to be carried on by the Protector and Council of State; (2) Parliament to consist of two Houses; (3) the Protector to name his successor. This new constitution accepted.

Spanish treasure-fleet beaten off *Cadiz*.

A new House of Lords called together.

1658. *Meeting of Parliament* in its reorganized form. Rights of the new House of Lords questioned by the Commons. *Dissolution of the Commons by Cromwell* (February 4).

Battle of the Dunes. Dunkirk taken from the Spaniards.

Death of Cromwell (September 3). *Richard Cromwell*, his son, declared *Protector*.

1659. The 'Rump' (remnant of the Long Parliament) restored by the Army.

Resignation of Richard Cromwell.

General Lambert dismissed by the 'Rump' from his command.

The 'Rump' turned out by General Lambert (October 13).
March of *General Monk* from Scotland towards London. *Lambert* sent against him.
The 'Rump' restored (December).

1660. *Entry of Monk into London* (February 3). His declaration in favour of *a free Parliament*.
Dissolution of the 'Rump' or Long Parliament by itself (March 16), after appointing *a new Parliament* (*or Convention*) to meet on April 25. *Meeting of the Convention Parliament* (*April* 25). *Invitation to the King to return*.
Landing of Charles II. at Dover and entry into London (May 29).

CHARLES II., 1660-1685.

Married **Katharine of Braganza.**

1660. *Clarendon's Ministry* (1660-1667).
Act of Indemnity and Oblivion (pardon granted to all except the regicides and five others).
The King's revenue settled at £1,200,000.
Army disbanded.
Dissolution of the *Convention Parliament*.

1661. *Savoy Conference.*
First Parliament (1661-1679). *Corporation Act* passed (office-holders to renounce the Covenant and communicate in the Church of England).

1662 *Act of Uniformity* passed enforcing (1) use of Prayer-Book, (2) episcopal ordination, (3) renunciation of the Covenant, (4) oath of obedience.
Marriage of *Charles II.* and *Katharine of Braganza* (Portugal).
Imprisonment of *Lambert*, and execution of *Sir Henry Vane*.
Dunkirk sold to the French.

1664. Repeal of the *Triennial Act.*
Conventicle Act passed (public religious meetings forbidden except for worship according to the rites of the Church of England).

1665. *War with Holland.* Dutch defeated off *Lowestoft*.
Great Plague of London.
Grant of money by Parliament *to be used for the war only*.
Five-Mile Act (forbidding Dissenting ministers and schoolmasters to live within five miles of a corporate town).

1666. *Alliance of France with the Dutch* against England (January).
Three days' indecisive battle at sea with the Dutch (June).
Victory off the Foreland over the Dutch (July).
Great Fire of London (September).

1667. *Defeat of the French and Dutch fleets* in the West Indies.
English ships in the *Medway* burnt by the *Dutch*.
Impeachment and flight of Clarendon. Sentence of *banishment* pronounced on him.
'Cabal' Ministry (1667-1673). Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale, in office.

1668. *Triple Alliance* of England, Holland, and Sweden against France.

1670. *Secret Treaty of Dover* concluded between Louis XIV. and Charles II.

1671. *Parliament prorogued* for twenty-one months.
1672. Refusal of *Exchequer* to repay loans.
Duke of York received into Church of Rome.
Declaration of Indulgence issued, repealing Acts against Catholics and Nonconformists.
War declared against Holland by England and France.
Indecisive *Battle of Southwold Bay* against the Dutch.
1673. Charles II. forced by *Parliament* to withdraw the *Declaration of Indulgence.*
Test Act passed (all office-holders to communicate in the Church of England and renounce the doctrine of Transubstantiation)
Retirement of the Duke of York and Clifford from office, as Roman Catholics. *Break-up of the 'Cabal' Ministry.*
Danby's Ministry (1673-1679). Sir Thomas Osborne (afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds), Lord Treasurer and leading minister.
1674. *Peace with Holland.*
1675. *Parliament prorogued* for fifteen months.
1677. *Meeting of Parliament. Shaftesbury* sent to the Tower for questioning whether fifteen months' prorogation did not dissolve Parliament.
Money voted for the *Navy*, to be spent by officers appointed by Parliament.
Princess Mary, daughter of James, Duke of York, married to *William of Orange.*
1678. Secret treaty between Louis XIV. and Charles II. renewed
Money given by *Louis XIV.* to the *Opposition.*
'Popish Plot' invented by *Titus Oates.*
King petitioned by Parliament to dismiss the *Duke of York.*
Act to *disable Papists from sitting in Parliament, Duke of York* excepted.
Impeachment of Danby for his share in the secret treaty
1679. *Dissolution of Parliament* (January).
Second Parliament. Danby committed to the Tower. *Exclusion Bill*, to prevent the Duke of York from succeeding to the throne, introduced.
Habeas Corpus Act, to secure speedy trial for prisoners, passed.
Parliament dissolved.
1680. Petitions for and against a new Parliament sent to Charles by *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*, or *Whigs* and *Tories.*
Third Parliament. Exclusion Bill passed by *Commons*, rejected by *Lords*
1681. *Dissolution of Parliament. Fourth Parliament at Oxford.* Exclusion Bill brought in again by the Commons, but *Parliament dissolved.*
Grand Jury of London 'ignore' or throw out Bill of High Treason against *Shaftesbury.*
1682. Position of heir to the throne assumed by *Duke of Monmouth.*
Charters of London and other cities forfeited.
1683. Death of *Shaftesbury* in Holland.
The *Rye House Plot* to murder the King and the Duke of York.
Russell and Sidney executed for treason.
1685. *Death of Charles II.*

JAMES II., 1685-1689.

Married 1) **Anne Hyde,** (2) **Mary of Modena.**

1685. *First Parliament* (1685-1687). Large revenue voted. Prorogued for eighteen months and then dissolved.
Execution of *Titus Oates*.
Monmouth's insurrection, defeat at Sedgemoor, and execution. 'Bloody Assize'; (rebels severely punished).
1686. *Dispensing power* affirmed by judges in case of Sir Edward Hales.
New Court of Ecclesiastical Commission established; Bishop of London suspended.
Standing army formed at *Hounslow Heath*.
Romanist made Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.
1687. *First Declaration of Indulgence.*
1688. *Second Declaration of Indulgence.*
Trial and acquittal of Seven Bishops, who petitioned against it.
Birth of a son (James, the 'Old Pretender') to James II.
William of Orange invited by seven leading men to come to England.
Landing of William of Orange at Torbay (November 5).
Flight of James II. to France (December).
1689. *Convention Parliament* called (January).
Declaration of Right accepted by William.
William and Mary declared King and Queen.

WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689-1694.

WILLIAM III. alone, 1694-1702.

1689. *New Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy* imposed on place-holders in Church and State.
Body of '*Non-Jurors*' formed by bishops and clergy refusing it.
War declared against *France.*
Toleration Act passed.
Bill of Rights passed by Parliament.
1690. Parliament *dissolved* (January). New *Tory Parliament* (March), led by *Danby.*
French naval victory off *Beachy Head* (June 30).
Defeat of James II. by William III. in Ireland in the *Battle of the Boyne* (July 1). Flight of James II. to *France.*
1692. English naval victory over the French off *La Hogue.*
William III. defeated by the French at *Steinkirk.*
1693. William III. defeated at *Landen.*
Beginning of the *National Debt.*
1694 Foundation of the *Bank of England.*
Triennial Act. (Duration of Parliament limited to three years. Three years not to elapse without a Parliament.)
Death of Queen Mary (December).
1695. Expiration of the *Censorship of the Press.*
Namur surrendered to William III.
New Whig Parliament.

1696. *Plot to murder King William.* *Association* formed to (1) avenge his death in case of his murder, (2) support Anne's succession, (3) continue the war.
Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.
1697. '*The Junto*' Whig Ministry, including Montagu, Russell, Somers, and Wharton.
Peace of Ryswick. (William acknowledged as King of England by France, and Anne recognised as his successor.)
1698. *First Partition Treaty* drawn up by England, Holland, and France for dividing the Spanish dominions on the death of Charles II. of Spain.
1700. *Severe Act against Roman Catholics.*
Second Partition Treaty, after the death of the Electoral Prince.
Death of William, Duke of Gloucester, son of Princess Anne
Recall of the Tory ministers, *Rochester* and *Godolphin*, to the Cabinet.
1701. *Act of Settlement* or *Succession Act* passed.
Impeachment of *Portland*, *Orford* (Russell), *Somers*, and *Halifax* (Montagu), by the Tories.
Death of James II. The 'Pretender' acknowledged by Louis XIV. as king.
New Parliament. Great *Whig* majority.
1702. *Tory ministers dismissed.*
Bills passed *attainting the Pretender* and upholding the *Protestant Succession.*
Death of William III. (March 8).

ANNE, 1702-1714.

Married **Prince George of Denmark**

1702. Ministry of *Marlborough*, *Godolphin*, *and Nottingham.*
War with France. *Marlborough* in command of the Allies in the *Netherlands.*
1704. Ministry joined by *Harley and St. John.*
Great victory of *Marlborough and Prince Eugene* at *Blenheim.*
Gibraltar captured by *Admiral Rooke* and *Sir Cloudesley Shovel.*
1705. *New Parliament.* *Whig* majority.
1706. Victory of *Marlborough and the Allies* at *Ramillies*
Sunderland, a Whig, Marlborough's son-in-law, Secretary of State
1707. *Bill for the Union of England and Scotland* passed.
1708. Allies defeated in Spain at *Almanza.*
Retirement of *Harley and St. John.* *Robert Walpole* Secretary at War.
Unsuccessful attempt of the *French* on *Scotland* on behalf of the *Pretender.*
Victory of *Marlborough and Prince Eugene* at *Oudenarde.* *Minorca* taken by *Stanhope.*
1709. Victory of *Marlborough and Prince Eugene* at *Malplaquet.*
Marlborough's request to be made *Captain-General for life* refused
1710. *Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell.*
Tory administration under Harley and St. John
1711. *Property Qualification Bill* for members of the House of Commons passed.

Archduke Charles elected *Emperor* (Charles VI.).
Dismissal of the *Duke and Duchess of Marlborough*. Imprisonment of *Walpole*.
Occasional Conformity Act passed.
Creation of *twelve new Peers*.
1713. *Peace of Utrecht*.
1714. The *Schism Act* passed.
Death of the *Electress Sophia* (June 8).
Dismissal of Harley, Earl of Oxford (July 27).
Illness of the Queen. *Shrewsbury made Lord Treasurer* in Harley's place. *Death of Queen Anne* (August 1).

GEORGE I., 1714-1727.

Married **Sophia of Brunswick**.

1714. *Arrival of George I. in England* (September).
Whig administration under *Townshend, Stanhope, and Walpole*.
1715. *Impeachment of Bolingbroke, Oxford, and the Duke of Ormond* by the new *Whig Parliament*.
Unsuccessful Jacobite Rising in England and Scotland. (Battles of *Preston* and *Sheriff Muir*.)
Death of Louis XIV. of France. Accession of *Louis XV*.
1716. The *Septennial Act* passed.
1717. *Triple Alliance* of England, France, and Holland guaranteeing Hanoverian Succession.
Retirement of *Townshend and Walpole*. *Stanhope's Ministry*.
1718. Repeal of the *Occasional Conformity* and *Schism Acts*.
Quadruple Alliance of England, France, Austria, and Holland.
1719. The *Peerage Bill*, after passing the Lords, rejected by the Commons.
1720. *Peace with Spain*.
The '*South Sea Bubble*.'
1721 Public credit restored by *Walpole*, who, with Townshend, had just rejoined the Government.
Walpole First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
1722. *Jacobite conspiracy* discovered.
1723. Return of *Bolingbroke* to England.
Agitation in England over '*Wood's halfpence*' (a copper coinage issued by Wood in Ireland).
1725 *Treaty of Vienna* (Austria and Spain against England). *Counter-treaty of Hanover* (England, France, and Prussia).
Opposition joined by *Pulteney*.
1727. *Death of George I*.

GEORGE II., 1727-1760.

Married **Caroline of Anspach**.

1727. *Sir Spencer Compton* proposed as Prime Minister, but replaced by *Walpole*.
1729. *Peace made with Spain* at Seville.
1730. Retirement of *Townshend*. Complete ascendancy of *Walpole*.

1731. *Second Treaty of Vienna* ('Pragmatic Sanction' ensuring Maria Theresa's succession to her father's hereditary dominions). Opposition joined by *Carteret*.
1733. *Walpole's Excise Bill* abandoned.
Outbreak of the *War of the Polish Succession* (Spain, France, and Savoy against Austria and Russia).
1734. *New Parliament*.
Withdrawal of Bolingbroke to France.
1736. *Porteous Riots in Edinburgh*.
1737. *The Prince of Wales* the centre of the Opposition to Walpole
Death of Queen Caroline.
1739. Rise of the '*Methodists*' or *Wesleyans*.
Beginning of the *War of 'Jenkins' Ear'* with Spain.
1740. Death of the Emperor, *Charles VI*.
1741. *New Parliament*.
1742. *Walpole's defeat* on the Chippenham election question and *resignation*. *Pulteney* made *Earl of Bath*. *Walpole* made *Earl of Orford*.
Wilmington nominal Prime Minister. *Carteret* real head of the Government.
1743. *English, Hessian, and Hanoverian troops* victorious over the French at *Dettingen*.
1744. *Henry Pelham* Prime Minister on *Wilmington's death*.
Open war declared between England and France.
Anson's return from a voyage round the world.
Retirement of *Carteret* (now *Earl Granville*). '*Broad Bottom*' (Coalition) administration formed by the Pelhams.
1745. English and their Allies defeated by the French at *Fontenoy*.
Election of *Maria Theresa's husband* as *Emperor* (Francis I).
Landing of Charles Edward, the 'Young Pretender,' in Scotland. James III. proclaimed at *Edinburgh*. Victory over the English at *Prestonpans* (September 21). *Carlisle* taken (November 15). Retreat from *Derby* (December).
1746. English defeated by Jacobites at *Falkirk* (January 17).
Ministerial crisis. Resignation of Ministry because *Pitt* excluded (February).
Return of Ministry, with *Pitt* as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland
Final defeat of the Young Pretender at Culloden (April 16).
1748. *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*.
1751. *Death of Frederick, Prince of Wales*.
Introduction of the 'New Style' or Gregorian Calendar (year 1752 to begin January 1 instead of March 25).
Death of Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke.
Capture of *Arcot* by *Robert Clive*.
1752. *Trichinopoly* surrendered by the French.
1754. *Death of Henry Pelham*. The *Duke of Newcastle* Prime Minister
War between English and French in *North America*
1755. *Dismissal of Pitt* for opposition to Hessian and Russian *subsidies*
Henry Fox Secretary of State.
1756. Alliance between *England and Prussia*. *Opening of the Seven Years' War*. *War with France*. *Loss of Minorca*. Tragedy of '*Black Hole of Calcutta*.' *Resignation of Newcastle*. *Duke of Devonshire* Prime Minister. *Pitt* Secretary of State.

1757. Bill for establishment of *national militia* passed.
Pitt dismissed by the King. His return to office under Newcastle.
Calcutta retaken by the English. Battle of *Plassey* (*Bengal* secured).
Battles of *Rossbach* and *Leuthen* (victories of Frederick II.).
Defeat of *Cumberland* at *Hastenbeck* and capitulation at *Kloster-seven.*
1758. *Louisburg* and *Cape Breton* taken by the English.
1759. *Victory of Minden* (French defeated by the Allies).
Capture of Quebec by General Wolfe.
Naval victories of the English at *Lagos* and off *Quiberon Bay.*
1760. Victory of *Wandewash* (*Madras secured*).
Death of George II. (October 26).

GEORGE III., 1760-1820.

Married **Charlotte-Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.**

1761. *Lord Bute* made Secretary of State. *Resignation of Pitt.*
1762. *War with Spain.*
Resignation of Newcastle. Bute First Lord of the Treasury.
1763. *Peace of Paris* signed by England, France, Spain, and Portugal.
End of the *Seven Years' War.*
Resignation of Lord Bute. Succeeded by *George Grenville.*
Beginning of proceedings against *Wilkes.*
1764. *Wilkes expelled from the House of Commons.*
1765. *The Stamp Act* for America passed.
Illness of the King. Disputes over the *Regency Bill.*
Grenville's administration succeeded by the *First Rockingham Ministry.*
1766. *Repeal of the American Stamp Act.*
'*General Warrants*' condemned as illegal by the House of Commons.
Fall of the Rockingham Ministry (July). *Grafton Ministry. Earldom of Chatham* accepted by *Pitt*, Lord Privy Seal and real leader in the new Government.
1767. Townshend's *Act for taxing American imports.*
1768. *Wilkes returned for Middlesex.* Popular riots in his favour.
Resignation of Chatham.
Captain Cook's first voyage to Australia.
1769. *The 'Letters of Junius.'* Repeated elections of Wilkes. His seat given to *Luttrell.*
1770. All the American import duties removed except the *tax on tea.*
Resignation of *Grafton. Lord North's Ministry.*
1773. Lord North's *Act for the Regulation of India* passed.
Tea thrown overboard in *Boston Harbour.*
1774. *Boston Port Bill. Massachusetts Constitution* annulled. *Congress of the American Colonies at Philadelphia.*
Death of Louis XV. of France. Accession of *Louis XVI.*
1775. *Beginning of the American War of Independence. George Washington*, American commander-in-chief. *Indecisive Battle of Lexington. Ticonderoga and Crown Point* taken by the Colonists. *British victory of Bunker's Hill.*
1776. English driven from *Boston*, but take *New York* and *Rhode Island.*

Declaration of Independence of the thirteen 'United States' (July 4).

1777. *French help sent to the Americans.* English victory of *Brandywine.*
Surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga.

1778. *Treaty between France and the United States.*
Death of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (May 11).

1779. *Declaration of war* against England by *Spain. Gibraltar* besieged.

1780. *Lord George Gordon Riots* (anti-Catholic).
War declared with Holland.

1781. *Surrender of the English under Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.*

1782. *Resignation of Lord North. Second Rockingham Ministry.*
Great naval victory in the West Indies.
Legislative independence granted to *Ireland.*
Death of Rockingham. Lord Shelburne's Ministry. Resignation of *Burke* and *Charles James Fox. Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer.*
Siege of Gibraltar (defended by General Elliott against French and Spaniards) raised.
Independence of the United States acknowledged by England.

1783. *Peace of Versailles.*
Coalition between North and Fox, and *resignation of Shelburne.*
'Coalition' Ministry. Duke of Portland nominal Prime Minister.
Fox's India Bill passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords.
Dismissal of the 'Coalition.' William Pitt Prime Minister.

1784. Struggle of Pitt and the King against the Opposition under Fox and North.
Dissolution of Parliament (March). *Large majority for the Ministry* in the new Parliament.
Reduction of duty on tea and spirits. Pitt's India Bill passed.
Reforms in the *Post-Office.*

1785. Pitt's scheme for giving *Ireland* commercial freedom defeated.
Pitt's motion for *Parliamentary Reform* thrown out.

1786. *Sinking Fund* established. *Commercial treaty with France.*
Impeachment of Warren Hastings moved by *Burke.*

1787. Association formed for the *Abolition of the Slave Trade.*

1788. Beginning of *Warren Hasting's trial.*
King's illness made public. Struggle over the *Regency question.*

1789. *Recovery of George III.*
Meeting of the States-General of France at Versailles (May 5).
Fall of the Bastille (July 14).

1791. Pitt's *Canada Bill* passed.

1792. *Acquittal of Warren Hastings.*
Formation of the *'Society of the Friends of the People'*
France invaded by Austria and Prussia. 'September massacres' of prisoners in Paris. *Declaration of the French Republic* (September).

1793. *Execution of Louis XVI. War between England and France.*
The First Coalition against France (England, Spain, Holland, Austria, and Prussia).
Traitorous Correspondence Act passed.

1794. Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act.*
Execution of Robespierre. End of the 'Reign of Terror' in France.

1795 *War with Holland. Cape of Good Hope* taken. *War with Spain. The Directorate* established in France.
Treasonable Practices Bill and *Seditious Meetings Bill* passed.
1796. *Ceylon* taken from the Dutch.
Unsuccessful French expedition to *Ireland*.
Campaign of Buonaparte in Italy (Battles of *Montenotte, Lodi, and Arcola*).
1797. English naval victories off *Cape St. Vincent* (February) and *Camperdown* (October).
Mutinies at *Spithead* (April), and the Nore (May to June).
1798. *Irish Rebellion.* Battle of *Vinegar Hill* (June).
Battle of the Nile; Nelson's victory over the French fleet (August 1).
1799. *Acre* held by *Sir Sidney Smith* against *Napoleon*.
The Second Coalition (England, Austria, and Russia).
Buonaparte practically supreme under the title of '*First Consul.*'
1800. *Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland* passed.
Malta taken from the French. Napoleon's victories of *Marengo* and *Hohenlinden*.
Armed Neutrality of the Northern Powers.
1801. *Peace of Lunéville* between France and Austria.
Resignation of Pitt, after failing to pass a measure for the *relief of the Catholics*, owing to the King's opposition. *Addington's Ministry*.
Illness of the King.
Naval victory of *Nelson* off *Copenhagen*.
1802. *Treaty of Amiens* with France.
1803. *Renewed war with France*.
1804. *Return of the King's illness.*
Buonaparte proclaimed Emperor.
Pitt's Ministry.
War with Spain. Napoleon's preparations for the *invasion of England*.
1805. *Third Coalition against France* (England, Russia, Austria). *Failure of Napoleon's scheme of invasion. Great victory over the French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar. Death of Nelson* (October 21).
Capitulation of *Ulm*. *Battle of Austerlitz.*
1806. *Death of William Pitt* (January 23). *Ministry of 'All the Talents' under Grenville and Fox.*
Battle of Jena (Prussians defeated by Napoleon).
Death of Fox.
Napoleon's *Berlin Decrees* (the British Isles declared in a state of blockade).
1807. The *Orders in Council* issued in answer to the Berlin Decrees (trade with French ports prohibited).
Act for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade passed.
Fall of the Ministry over *Catholic Relief* Question. *Duke of Portland's Ministry*.
Invasion of *Portugal* by the *French*.
1808. *Beginning of the Peninsular War.* Victories of *Sir Arthur Wellesley* at *Roriça* and *Vimiero*. *Convention of Cintra* (French to leave Portugal).
1809. Death of *Sir John Moore* at *Corunna*. Victories of *Wellesley* at

Oporto and *Talavera*. *Battle of Wagram* (Austria defeated by Napoleon).
Quarrel between the Ministers *Canning* and *Castlereagh*, resulting in a duel.
Resignation of Portland. *Perceval's Ministry*.
1810. *Wellesley*, now *Lord Wellington*, victorious at *Busaco*. Retreat of the French from *the lines of Torres Vedras*.
Return of King's illness.
1811. *Regency Bill* passed. The *Prince of Wales* Regent.
English victories at *Barrosa*, *Fuentes d'Onoro*, and *Albuera*.
'*Luddite*' *machine-breaking riots* in Nottinghamshire and the Midlands.
1812. *Cuidad Rodrigo* stormed by *Wellington* (January).
Ministerial crisis. *Castlereagh* Foreign Secretary.
Badajos stormed by Wellington (April).
Assassination of Perceval in the House of Commons. *Lord Liverpool's Ministry*.
War with England declared by the *United States*.
Wellington's victory of *Salamanca*. *Napoleon's retreat from Russia*.
1813. Wellington's victories of *Vitteria* and the *Battle of the Pyrenees* (July). Storm of *St. Sebastian* (September). Surrender of *Pampeluna* (October).
Battles of *Lützen* and *Bautzen* (Napoleon victorious). *Defeat of Napoleon* at *Dresden* and at *Leipzig* (October 16 to October 19), by Russia and Prussia.
1814. Wellington victorious at *Orthez* (February) and *Toulouse* (April).
Entrance of Allies into Paris. *Abdication of Napoleon*.
First Peace of Paris (France, Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia concerned).
Congress of Vienna.
Treaty of Ghent (peace between England and the United States).
1815. *Escape of Napoleon from Elba* (February). Flight of *Louis XVIII*. King of France. *Napoleon defeated at Waterloo* by the *English* under *Wellington* and the *Prussians* under *Blucher* (June 18). *Surrender of Napoleon*. His *imprisonment* at *St. Helena*. *Second Peace of Paris*.
1816. Marriage of *Princess Charlotte* (heiress-presumptive of the English throne) to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg.
1817. *Habeas Corpus Act suspended*. *Act to prevent Seditious Meetings*.
Army and Navy opened to *Roman Catholics* and *Nonconformists*.
Death of the Princess Charlotte.
1818. *Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act repealed*.
1819. Parliamentary struggle over *Catholic Relief* and *Parliamentary Reform*. *Riots and petitions for reform*. '*Manchester Massacre*.' The '*Six Acts*' passed.
1820. *Death of George III*.

BILLING AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS, GUILDFORD.